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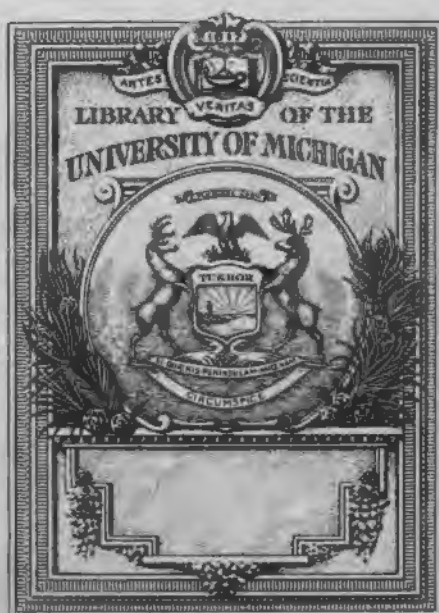
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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN
SOCIETY.

COMMITTEE OF PUBLICATION.

EDWARD E. HALE.
NATHANIEL PAINE.

CHARLES A. CHASE.
CHARLES C. SMITH.

PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.

NEW SERIES, VOL. IX.

OCTOBER 1893—OCTOBER 1894.



WORCESTER, MASS.:
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ERRATA.

- Page 2, line 4, for *Pendleton* read *Pemberton*.
Page 10; line 32, for *Samuel S. Green* read *Samuel A. Green*.
Page 24, lines 6 and 8, for *Pierce* read *Pearce*.
Page 93, line 3n., and page 94, line 1n., for *Von Schaack* read *Van Schaack*.
Title page, Pt. 2, for *Vol. X.* read *Vol. IX.*
Page 113, line 24, for *Butler* read *O'Brien*.
Page 115, line 15, for *Governor* read *George M.*
Page 144, lines 15 and 17, for *Heereboord* read *Heereboort*; for *Maletemata* read *Meletemata*.
Page 150, line 26, for *Jouin* read *Jovin*.
Page 151, line 1, for *Trendelenberg* read *Trendelenburg*.
Page 153, line 23, for *Comyges* read *Comegys*.
Page 153, line 25, for *Bierblower* read *Bierbower*.
Page 181, line 28, for *two* read *three*.
Pages 301 and 302, line 1n., and 308, line 17, for *Thurm* read *Thurn*.
Page 333, lines 19 and 20, for *Cambridge* read *Concord*.
Page 349, line 10n., for *VII.* read *VIII.*
Page 426, line 30, for *Danville* read *D'Anville*.

NOTE.

The Ninth Volume of the New Series of Proceedings includes the transactions at the Annual Meetings in 1893 and 1894, the Semi-Annual Meeting, April 25, 1894, and two Special Meetings of the Council. The two meetings of the Council were called to take action upon the deaths of Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, the Secretary of Domestic Correspondence, and of Judge P. Emory Aldrich, a valued member of the Council.

The contributions to this volume include several important and valuable papers, as the Table of Contents indicates.

The Index has been prepared with care, and will be found useful for reference.

ERRATA.

Page 2. line 4. for *Penleton* read *Pemberton*.

Page 10. line 32. for *Samuel S. Green* read *Samuel A. Green*.

Page 24. lines 6 and 8. for *Pierre* read *Parce*.

Page 93. line 3a.. and page 94. line 1a.. for *Von Schaack* read *Van Schaack*.

Title page. Pt. 2. for *Vol. X.* read *Vol. LX.*

Page 113. line 24. for *Butler* read *O'Brien*.

Page 115. line 15. for *Governor* read *George M.*

Page 144. lines 15 and 17. for *Hiereboord* read *Heereboort*; for *Maletemata* read *Meltemata*.

Page 150. line 26. for *Jouin* read *Jurin*.

Page 151. line 1. for *Trendelenberg* read *Trendelenburg*.

Page 153. line 23. for *Comyges* read *Comegys*.

Page 153. line 25. for *Birchlower* read *Birchauer*.

Page 181. line 28. for *two* read *three*.

Pages 301 and 302. line 1a.. and 308. line 17. for *Thurn* read *Thurn*.

Page 333. lines 19 and 20. for *Cambridge* read *Concord*.

Page 349. line 10a.. for *VII.* read *VIII.*

Page 426. line 30. for *Daurille* read *D'Aurille*.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 21, 1893, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

THE President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The following members were present :¹ George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, John D. Washburn, Edward G. Porter, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, George P. Fisher, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, Frank P. Goulding, Hamilton A. Hill, John F. Jameson, Charles Francis Adams, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Benjamin A. Gould.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the Council was presented by Mr. FRANKLIN B. DEXTER of New Haven, Conn., who also read a paper on "Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution."

At the close of the reading of the Report of the Council Rev. Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS said :

"The baldest recognition of that distinction of rank is given in Sewall's Journal. He records that the minister of the Old South Church called a meeting of the members of the Church in connection with the choice of a colleague, and

¹ The names follow the order of election to membership.

very few attended the meeting so that in order to determine it they had to call another meeting. And the explanation was, and I think it was made by the father of Dr. Franklin, that Dr. Pendleton asked for a meeting of the *gentlemen* of the Church and Franklin's father said he did not claim to be a gentleman, and that was the reason that the infelicitous call of the Church led to such a small number being present.

“I recall an incident which some of you may not remember. When George Bancroft returned from Germany he made an effort in Harvard College to have the catalogue arranged not alphabetically but according to scholarship. That was resisted by what was called a rebellion in those days. I have reason to remember it for I had an older brother then in college who was a very good scholar, as was also my younger brother. He would have had no reason to object to being ranged in the order of scholarship. But the class had what was called an illegal meeting, that is, a meeting without permission of the faculty, to resist the matter, and my brother was made moderator of that meeting. I distinctly recall in my boyhood President Kirkland, who had been my mother's clergyman before going to the college, coming to see her to reconcile her to my brother's being sent off for that illegal moderatorship, and he found it difficult to do it. My brother, who was a very sensitive young man, said he would never return to the college.”

The Report of the Treasurer was then presented by NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq.

The Report of the Librarian was presented by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

On motion it was voted that the Report of the Council should be referred to the Committee on Publication for publication in the Proceedings.

Prof. HENRY W. HAYNES and Hon. EDWARD L. DAVIS were appointed to distribute and collect ballots for President of the Society. During the collection of the ballots Dr. EDWARD E. HALE said:

“I should like to ask what became of the supposed American edition of the Pilgrim’s Progress which was supposed to be in the Brinley collection. In the second part of the Pilgrim’s Progress Bunyan says in the poetical introduction that it was reprinted in America. It was announced, twenty or thirty years ago, that a copy was in the Brinley Library, and I suppose some of the gentlemen who attended that sale would know.”

The PRESIDENT referred to the fact that Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS at the meeting in April called attention to the question of the amount of property that the Society was allowed to hold; whether it had acquired a strength not authorized by the Act of Incorporation, and a committee was appointed by the Council to investigate the subject. The committee had attended to the duty, and a report was prepared by Senator HOAR which he would read. The following report was then read:

“The Committee who were directed by the Council to inquire how much real and personal property the Society is authorized to hold, and whether it is desirable that further authority to hold property should be obtained from the Legislature, respectfully report:

“The Society was empowered by its charter, approved October 24, 1812, to take and hold real and personal estate, ‘provided that the annual income of any real estate by said Society holden shall never exceed the sum of fifteen hundred dollars, and that the personal estate thereof, exclusive of books, papers and articles in the museum of said Society shall never exceed the value of seven thousand dollars.’

“By the statute approved March 26, 1852, the Society is authorized to hold real estate the annual income of which shall not exceed the sum of five thousand dollars, and personal estate which exclusive of books, papers and articles in its cabinet shall not exceed the sum of one hundred thousand dollars.

“The Report of the Treasurer for the six months ending April 1, 1893, shows that the invested personal property of the Society including cash on hand then amounted to \$126,663.91, being more than twenty-six thousand dollars in excess of the amount allowed by law.

“The Committee understand that no person can raise any lawful objection to the holding of this amount by the Society, or to its acquiring and holding any further property, real or personal, except the Commonwealth. But such holding and acquisition are in violation of law, and the Society can be compelled by proper process instituted in behalf of the Commonwealth to keep within legal limits. This condition of things may deter some persons who might otherwise be disposed to make gifts to the Society.

“We therefore recommend that the Society petition the Legislature at the coming session so to amend the charter that the Society may hold property, real or personal, to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars.

STEPHEN SALISBURY,
GEO. F. HOAR,
SAMUEL S. GREEN.”

The report was unanimously adopted.

The Committee on Election announced that Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY had been unanimously elected President.

The PRESIDENT: “I express my thanks for this renewed manifestation of the confidence of the Society.”

On motion of Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Dr. GREEN, Mr. ROBERT N. TOPPAN and Mr. SOLOMON LINCOLN were appointed by the President a committee to nominate the other officers.

On motion of Senator HOAR it was voted that the President and Recording Secretary should be directed to petition the Legislature, in accordance with the report presented, for an increase of the authorized capital of the Society.

Dr. HALE: “I had the honor of a conversation with

Bishop Whipple at Lake Mohonk, and he confirmed the view which I have brought before the Society before, that any well educated Ojibbeway Indians could understand Eliot's Bible. He has promised to send me some memoranda on the matter, and I should like to have permission to present those memoranda to the Publication Committee, and if they should think them important enough to ask that they may be printed as a part of our Proceedings."

It was so voted.

The chairman of the Committee on Nominations reported the list of officers for election. On motion the Secretary was instructed to cast a yea vote for the officers and the following persons were so elected :

Vice-Presidents :

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence :

Hon. JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence :

Rev. GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS, LL.D., of Boston.

Recording Secretary :

Hon. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Treasurer :

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE, of Worcester.

Councillors :

Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

Hon. PELEG EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven, Ct.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, R. I.

Committee of Publication :

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Boston.

NATHANIEL PAINE, Esq., of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors :

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

The President announced that there were eleven vacancies in the list of Domestic Members. Foreign Members also were to be elected. The Council had prepared lists of names for the action of the Society.

The Secretary read the following names presented for Foreign Membership :

Protap Chunder Mozoomdar of India ; Rt. Rev. William Stubbs, Bishop of Oxford ; Goldwin Smith of Canada ; Sir John Lubbock of London.

Messrs. GOULD, GREEN, STODDARD and MERRIMAN were appointed a committee to distribute and collect votes for the four Foreign Members.

During the collecting of the ballots Senator HOAR said :

“I would like to call the attention of the Society to a matter connected with the Levi Lincoln Fund for a thousand dollars, the interest of which was to be expended as a premium for the best written article on archæological subjects. This money was received about twenty-five years ago. It now amounts to over three thousand dollars and gives an income of about two hundred dollars a year.

“The Council have endeavored in vain to find any mode of expending this income in this country according to the provisions of the gift. The wealth of papers which have

been furnished to the Society on archæological subjects by members and others gratuitously, has made it unnecessary and undesirable to offer money premiums for such papers. The Council made *one* effort to induce a very eminent antiquary on the Connecticut river, who was supposed to be in need of such assistance, to avail himself of the income of the legacy.

“Now it has occurred to me that this might be made an instrument for obtaining from England very important antiquarian and archæological information which we otherwise find it excessively hard to obtain. You heard how Mr. DEXTER in order to learn something in regard to the early graduates of one of the old universities had to enter into correspondence with a scholar at Cambridge, England. That, I suppose, was necessary for his paper. And every one who has had occasion to look into the life of any person belonging to our early history, knows how difficult it is to get any special information from Cambridge without the aid of some friend there. There are not even such publications relating to Cambridge University as there are relating to Oxford. It has occurred to me that with the income of this Lincoln Legacy we might employ some competent person who would get access to the records and give us everything we need relating to the parentage of the early New England men. That could be done under the supervision of our English members who would be glad to help in this. I think this would be a very valuable acquisition to our resources. I desire to call the attention of the Society to this way of disposing of the income of the Levi Lincoln Fund for some years to come.”

Mr. HENRY H. EDES: “I move that the subject be referred to the Council, with full powers.

“Perhaps Senator HOAR may be aware that a most interesting volume of the Recollections at Cambridge, including the names of some of the earliest settlers of Massachusetts, is missing from the Cambridge archives. It is not generally

known in England except among some of the scholars and high officials at Cambridge. A gentleman high in the confidence of the University desired to borrow that volume for use in connection with some literary work in which he was engaged, and died without having returned it. His widow was very much incensed at being asked to return the volume, claiming that her husband had already done so. The officials at Cambridge never pressed it lest some accident should befall it. That is why Cambridge has not followed Oxford in giving the complete list of under-graduates."

The subject was referred to the Council, with full powers.

The gentlemen appointed to collect ballots for the Foreign Members reported, and the President announced the election of—

GOLDWIN SMITH, D.C.L., Toronto, Canada.

Babu PROTAP CHUNDER MOZOOMDAR, Calcutta, India.

Rt. Rev. WILLIAM STUBBS, LL.D., Oxford, England.

Sir JOHN LUBBOCK, D.C.L., Farnborough, England.

Dr. HALE: "Our Librarian, Mr. BARTON, has been so kind as to put into my hands a number of the very curious copies of the Pilgrim's Progress that exist in this library. In the second part, in the poetical introduction, are the following lines:

'Fright not thyself, my Book, for such Bugbears
Are nothing else but Ground for Groundless Fears.
My Pilgrim's Book has travell'd Sea and Land,
Yet could I never come to understand
That it was slighted and turned out of Door
By any Kingdom were they Rich or Poor.
In France or Flanders, where men kill each other
My Pilgrim is esteemed a Friend a Brother,
In Holland too, 'tis said, as I am told
My Pilgrim is with some worth more than Gold.
Highlanders and Wild Irish can agree
My Pilgrim should familiar with them be.
'Tis in New England under such Advance
Receives there so much loving Countenance
As to be trimmed, new cloathed, and dressed with gems.
That it might shew its Features and its Limbs:
Yet more; so commonly doth my Pilgrim walk
That of him Thousands daily sing and talk.'

“There is a distinct statement that there was then published in the seventeenth century an edition of the Pilgrim’s Progress in New England.

“In the old days when I lived here, and for many years afterwards, it was always said and believed that in the Brinley collection there had been a stray copy of this original New England edition. None of us ever saw it, but Mr. Brinley himself thought he had one. It would be far more precious than its weight in gold were such a copy to be found. The tradition existed that it was in this collection, but it seems that that tradition was like the one about the first edition of Mother Goose. I hold in my hands, however, a very valuable earlier edition of the Second Part of Pilgrim’s Progress, being the sixteenth edition with five cuts, with a note saying, ‘the Third Part suggested to be J. Bunyan’s is an imposture.’ Here I also hold in my hand the Third Part to which is added the twenty-first edition of Bunyan’s life. This is the one which, in the former edition, is said to be an imposture. I think perhaps Mr. BARTON might make a note with reference to this. I have been in the habit for forty years when preaching in the ancient churches of telling people that in the attics of their houses or their church libraries there might still exist the seventeenth-century New England edition, and if so it would be a most valuable addition to American bibliography.”

The gentlemen appointed to collect ballots for Domestic Members reported, and the President declared the following persons elected members :

WM. PRESTON JOHNSTON, LL.D., New Orleans, La.

Rev. CHARLES CARROLL EVERETT, S.T.D., Cambridge,
Mass.

WILLIAM WATSON GOODWIN, LL.D., Cambridge, Mass.

Hon. HENRY ALEXANDER MARSH, Worcester, Mass.

Mr. FREDERICK ALBION OBER, Washington, D. C.

Messrs. ADAMS, W. A. SMITH, TOPPAN, C. C. SMITH and NOURSE were appointed to distribute and collect ballots for the next five gentlemen to be elected Domestic Members.

Dr. MERRIMAN: "I move that hereafter the Council be requested to present the names of their nominees on one printed ballot so that a single ballot can be distributed, and those who wish to vote negatively can do it by writing a word or by affixing a cross."

The PRESIDENT: "The matter will be presented to the Council for its consideration at the next meeting."

Mr. PAINE: "I have received a letter from our venerable associate, Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, who regrets that he cannot be present. He says: 'I am still too feeble to endure much fatigue and excitement. I indulge a very forlorn hope that I may be able to meet the Society once more in Boston, but whether I attain ninety-two years is problematical. The will of God be done. Kind regards to you and to all of our associates in the Society.'"

The committee appointed to collect ballots reported, and the President declared the five following persons elected:

ALBERT SHAW, Ph.D., New York, N. Y.

Mr. HENRY PRATT UPHAM, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Hon. SIMEON EBEN BALDWIN, LL.D., New Haven, Ct.

Hon. EDWARD FRANCIS JOHNSON, LL.B., Woburn, Mass.

HENRY PHELPS JOHNSTON, A.M., New York, N. Y.

Senator HOAR: "I should like to hand to the Society a list prepared by the Secretary of State, Mr. Olin, of the Fast Days ordered and observed in the early settlement of the colonies, Massachusetts Bay and Plymouth. I had proposed to ask the Society to print this, but I think some additions might be found, and I move that it be referred to Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN with the request that he prepare it for publication for the next meeting of the Society with such additions as he shall think proper."

And it was so voted.

Rev. CALVIN STEBBINS was then introduced who read a paper entitled, “Edmund Burke: His Services as Agent of the Province of New York.”

A paper on “Wheeler’s Defeat, 1675. Where? At Meminimisset Meadow,” was read by Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, as follows:—

“In the Library of the Massachusetts Historical Society there is a manuscript map of a tract of country lying near the western border of Worcester County, which is of much interest and value. It is entitled: ‘A New Plan of Several Towns in the County of Worcester,’ and bears date March 30, 1785. The plan is 20 inches from top to bottom, and 28 from side to side, and represents a territory of about 18 miles by 26 in area. The lower right-hand corner is largely taken up with historical notes, which crowd out some of the places that otherwise would be named. It includes the towns of Rutland, Oakham, Hardwick, New Braintree, Brookfield (before it was cut up into smaller towns), and Western, now known as Warren, besides part of Princeton, Hubbardston, Barre, Petersham, Greenwich, Ware, Palmer, Brimfield, Sturbridge, Charlton, Spencer, Paxton, and Holden, though some of these parts are very inconsiderable. The main thoroughfares of the region are laid down on the map, as well as the rivers, mill-sites, forges, ponds, brooks, and meadows, besides various prominent hills. The roads leading from the neighborhood to Worcester and Boston are also marked. In many instances the names of ponds, meadows, etc., are Indian; and on the southeastern borders of Quaboag Pond in Brookfield is indicated the site of an old Indian settlement.

“The map was given to the Historical Society among its very earliest accessions, by the Rev. James Freeman, D.D., on April 9, 1791, and is now found in a folio volume entitled ‘Atlas Ameriquain Septentrional’ (Paris, 1778), which was presented by William Tudor, at the same meeting. Probably as a safe and convenient place for use,

after its receipt by the library, it was inserted at the end of the Atlas, where many years ago it was bound up with the volume. For a long time the map was not catalogued separately, which furnishes the reason why, until recently, it has been overlooked.

“The plan was made with great care and skill by Gen. Rufus Putnam, a native of Worcester County, and a distinguished engineer and surveyor, whose patriotic services during the Revolution afterward gave him a high position in public affairs. In the year 1785, the date of the plan, he was living at Rutland, and previously at New Braintree, both of which towns are represented in the drawing, and presumably with strict accuracy. Its interesting feature lies in the fact that the place where Capt. Edward Hutchinson’s command was ambushed by the Indians in the summer of 1675 is carefully noted.

“In modern times the scene of this fight has been disputed, and been made the subject of long and earnest discussion. At the annual meeting of the Antiquarian Society, six years ago to-day, the attention of the members was called to the matter by two of our associates who on that occasion each presented papers dealing with the question. The Rev. Grindall Reynolds, the writer of one of these, following the authority of Mr. Temple, the historian of North Brookfield, leaned to the opinion that the ambush was laid on the easterly side of Sucker Brook, formerly called Great Brook, about two miles north of Wickaboag Pond in that town; while the Rev. Lucius R. Paige, D.D., the writer of the second, took decided grounds in favor of a spot near Meminisset Meadow in New Braintree, distant a few miles from the other place. Dr. Paige based his opinions in regard to the matter on Capt. Thomas Wheeler’s Narrative, published in Boston only a few months after the fight; and his views are entitled to great weight. He was born in the adjacent town of Hardwick, where he inherited all those local traditions which rightfully have so

much unconscious influence over our final judgment in many matters; and moreover he is widely known as an accurate writer and a zealous antiquary.

“In the present paper I have followed the spelling of *Meminisset*, as given on the map, although there are many ways of writing the word. Some of these forms begin with ‘M,’ while others begin with ‘W,’ which originally, perhaps, were different readings of the same capital letter as found in old manuscript.

“At a point on the Plan near the northern boundary of New Braintree, where the Swamp and the Hill are duly marked, the following legend in two lines, in rather large letters, appears: ‘Brook Swamp *Meminisset*,’ and at right angles, in smaller letters, is the inscription: ‘Hutchensons troupe ambushed between Swamp & Hill.’ This record bears out completely Dr. Paige’s theory in the matter. The site of the skirmish lies very near the crotch of the roads, one leading to Worcester, and the other to Boston, according to the map. Gen. Putnam had been a resident of New Braintree, and had known and talked with men there who themselves had known and talked with those living in the neighborhood at the time of the ambush. It is not likely that he would have made any mistake in regard to the place, as he was a man both of excellent judgment and historical accuracy. The testimony of this new witness was given just halfway between the occurrence of the affair and the present time, and in all respects seems to confirm the opinion of our venerable associate, as expressed in his paper presented to this Society, on October 21, 1887. While Dr. Paige’s views are in accord with those of the Rev. William Hubbard, who at the time of the events wrote a narrative of the Indian troubles, and with those of Gov. Thomas Hutchinson, who during the following century was the author of a History of the Province, he may well leave the question to future antiquaries, in the firm belief that their verdict will sustain his position.”

Rev. GRINDALL REYNOLDS: "In my paper you will remember I leaned toward the Wickabaug theory. My leaning was largely owing to the visit made to Brookfield under the guidance of our friend, Senator HOAR, because the Wickabaug location corresponds to the local descriptions of Capt. Wheeler. But I presume that this is absolute evidence."

The PRESIDENT: "The President is pleased to notice the presence with us of our old associate, Dr. CYRUS HAMLIN, and hopes he will speak to us to-day."

Dr. HAMLIN read a paper entitled "A Diplomatic Duel."

Senator HOAR: "I should like to express my great delight at the narrative given to us by our venerable friend which has all the charm which belongs to historic narrative given by wise and clear-sighted observers of the events in which they have borne a part. Sir Stratford Canning was undoubtedly one of the greatest characters in English history. I think we cannot, however, agree with all Dr. HAMLIN's emphasis on the Christian character of the man. If we read the various sketches and accounts of him that have been written since his death we cannot refrain from the conviction that he was not a little of a bully. One who wants to get both sides of his character will get a satisfactory view if he will read Sir Henry Bulwer's sketch of him, or Kinglake's *Crimea*, and the account of Sir Stratford's dealings with the Turkish authorities; and then turn to John Quincy Adams's diary and see how he got on when he tried the same method on him in 1821. There is a good deal of difference in the result of an interview between Canning and Adams, and between Canning and the Turkish minister.

"Since the last annual meeting of our Society, Mr. Edward L. Pierce has published his *Life of Charles Sumner*.

"I think this memoir will always hold its place as the standard authority not only for the life of his illustrious

friend, but for the history of the great revolution in which Mr. Sumner was the chief political leader. I am unwilling to mention these volumes without bearing my testimony to the admirable manner in which Mr. Pierce has accomplished his work. He was one of Mr. Sumner's most intimate friends,—perhaps during the latter part of his life, the most intimate of all his friends. But he has told his story with great impartiality, with a most anxious desire for the truth, and with most patient and laborious investigation.

“It is not my purpose to review this book here, but only to call attention to a single matter which affects seriously the reputation of an honored President of this Society. Mr. Pierce says, Volume III., page 159 :

“‘The President, in August, 1846, signified to Congress that a cession from Mexico was a probable mode of concluding peace, and with that purpose in view called for two million dollars. An appropriation bill being reported in the House, Wilmot of Pennsylvania moved, August 8th, an amendment, known afterwards as the “Wilmot Proviso,” prohibiting slavery forever in the territory to be acquired. It passed the House with the general support of both Northern Whigs and Democrats, but a vote was prevented in the Senate by the “unseasonable loquacity” of John Davis of Massachusetts, who was still talking when the session expired.’

“In support of this statement Von Holst's Constitutional History of the United States, Vol. III., pages 287–289, is cited. Von Holst is speaking of the bill appropriating two million dollars to be used by the President in obtaining from Mexico an adjustment of the boundary between the United States and that country, and for paying to Mexico an equivalent in money for any portion of her territory which she might be willing to cede to the United States. To this bill had been attached in the House of Representatives, a condition known as the ‘Wilmot Proviso,’ enacting that slavery should be forever prohibited in all the territories to be acquired from Mexico. This bill was under con-

sideration in the Senate when the House adjourned without day. The following is Mr. Von Holst's narrative :

“ ‘The unseasonable loquacity of John Davis prevented the bill of the House from coming to a vote in the Senate. Although he was repeatedly reminded that there was not a moment to spare, and although he repeatedly promised to end in good season, he spoke right on until he was interrupted, in the middle of a sentence, by the announcement that the House had adjourned *sine die*. A Senator from Massachusetts had literally talked the Wilmot proviso to death by a most sensible speech in its favor. On him were now poured out all the vials of wrath, not of the friends of the proviso, but of the Administration. They were thinking only of the two millions, or at least they acted as if they were thinking only of these.’

“ ‘This charge found extensive currency at the time. It seems due to Mr. Davis that there should somewhere be put on record the material for its confutation. The Society reprinted, in its Proceedings for April, 1887, a brief sketch of John Davis from a forgotten work entitled ‘Gallery of American Portraits,’ by George Watterston, of which the following is the principal part :

“ ‘He does not often address the body to which he belongs but when he does it, it is with great ability and effect. He is sedate, grave and circumspect, reflecting intensely on the subject brought up for discussion, and speaking only when it is of such a nature as to require the lights and energies of superior minds. On such occasions he investigates profoundly, prepares himself with facts to illustrate and develop, and comes forth as a most eloquent and powerful advocate. His mind is capable of constant, laborious and intense application ; is clear, acute and vigorous ; not easily swayed by ingenuity, or led astray by feeling ; seeking truth, through all the meanders of subtlety, and drawing her into light, and presenting her in all her native and undisguised loveliness. Like the well trained hunter, he is never driven from the pursuit of the game by false scents, but perseveres, whatever may be the irregularity of the course or the obstructions of the way, till he brings out the

truth, and exposes the fallacies of those who have endeavored to conceal it. His information on the great questions of national policy is extensive and accurate, and his reasoning solid and irresistible. His positions are laid down broadly, and demonstrated with clearness. He never loiters on the outskirts of his subject, or strives to amuse his hearers by pretty conceits or idle verbiage. He deals in demonstration, and when he brings his proposition to a close, it is like the *quod erat demonstrandum* of the mathematician. Almost every mind is satisfied, or finds it difficult, if not impossible, to extract the wedge he has driven in. His speeches are fine specimens of practical logic and accurate reasoning, close, clear and conclusive. Mr. Davis does not deal much in theory; he is more practical than speculative, and bends his whole powers to produce conviction, without aiming at beauty or splendor of diction in what he says. His thoughts are "apples of gold," but not "in a net-work of silver." His style is plain and unostentatious, and suited to the weight and gravity of the subject which he discusses, and though correct, is not very flowing or ornamented. His frame is large and apparently muscular; his countenance grave and marked by the traces of thought, and exhibits great shrewdness and penetration. As a legislator he is vigilant and active, always at his post, and always prepared to support or resist, by his eloquence or vote, any measure which may be introduced into the House that he conceives to be conducive or injurious to the interests of the nation.'

• "Mr. Davis died forty years ago. The persons now living who remember him, and the persons who have heard of him from his contemporaries, will agree that the above is an admirable and truthful portraiture. Mr. Davis was a man of great practical wisdom, infrequent speech, compact, clear and convincing in statement and reasoning. There never was an American statesman to whom unseasonableness of speech, or loquacity could, with less probability, be ascribed. He was never accused of either, so far as I believe, on any other occasion. I have often heard my father, who was his contemporary and who had frequently encountered at the bar Daniel Webster, Jeremiah Mason, Franklin Dexter,

Rufus Choate, Charles Allen, Elijah H. Mills and the other great New England lawyers of that time, say that he thought Mr. Davis the most formidable antagonist it was ever his fortune to meet at the bar.

“While Mr. Davis remained a member of the Whig party until his death, there can be no question that he sympathized with the prevailing opinion of Massachusetts in opposing the extension of slavery into the territories. He refused to join Mr. Webster in supporting the compromises of 1850. The archives of this Society contain the evidence that that difference led to a personal estrangement between him and his great colleague.

“I think a brief narrative of the facts will show not only that Mr. Davis had no intention of defeating the prohibition of slavery in the territories, but that his action in fact in no way contributed to that result.

“Von Holst is one of the most sensible, careful and painstaking writers upon American political history. Indeed, Von Holst, De Tocqueville and Bryce are the only foreign writers on American institutions whose work is of much value. Von Holst and Bryce have occasionally fallen into errors which seem to be owing to the influence upon their judgment of the class of persons with whom they have chiefly associated here. It is creditable to them that their errors of this kind have been so few. Justice to Von Holst requires the statement that his charge against Mr. Davis is but the repetition of that which was made at the time by the anger and disappointment of the supporters of the administration. But nothing can seem more ludicrous to the men who knew John Davis than to impute to him either loquacity or error in judgment in determining what course was likely to accomplish any object he had at heart. He was clear-headed, hard-headed, shrewd, circumspect and exceedingly tenacious of any object of his desire. An examination of the legislative history of the Wilmot Proviso will acquit Mr. Davis, I think, of this charge and will show

that he acted on that occasion, not only honestly but wisely in the interest of freedom in the territories.

“It is true, as is said by Von Holst and Mr. Pierce, that the bill which placed two millions in the hands of the President, to be used at his sole discretion in negotiating for peace and acquiring territory, went to the Senate from the House with the proviso prohibiting forever slavery in the territory to be acquired. But the motion to which Mr. Davis spoke was a motion to strike out that proviso, and the vote which he prevented by a speech of fifteen or twenty minutes only, would have been a vote on that proposition. Mr. Davis doubtless expected that if the Senate came to a vote the proviso would be stricken out, that the House would be compelled, in the short time before final adjournment, either to accept the amendment, striking out the condition, or to let the bill fail, and that the result would be a concurrence with the Senate and the passage of the bill, putting this extraordinary power into the hands of President Polk without the condition for securing freedom. The precise thing happened at the next session, and cannot be related better than in Mr. Pierce’s language :

“‘The struggle was renewed at the next session, 1846–1847, on appropriation bills providing the means for negotiating a treaty, but though the proviso at different times passed the House, in which the Northern members were largely in a majority, it was as often rejected in the Senate which was more equally divided between sections, and less susceptible to a popular pressure. Uniformly the House receded from its position and the proviso was lost. Thus the question was left open for the national election of 1848.’

“The Senate and House had agreed, by a concurrent resolution, upon an hour for adjournment, being 12 o’clock on the 21st day of August. Under this resolution it became the duty of the presiding officer in each house to declare it adjourned without day when the appointed hour came, unless the resolution should be rescinded by a like concurrent vote. Fifteen or twenty minutes before the hour fixed

the bill above mentioned was taken up for consideration. It was in charge of Mr. Dixon H. Lewis of Alabama, Chairman of the Committee on Finance, one of the ablest and most influential of the Southern Democratic leaders, thoroughly earnest, without disguise, in his support of the Southern policy of acquiring territory from Mexico for the purpose of making new slave States. It is utterly incredible, either that Mr. Lewis would have consented to the passage of the proviso excluding slavery from the territory to be acquired, or that he did not perfectly understand the parliamentary method of accomplishing his own purpose. He moved to take up the bill, and immediately moved to strike out the proviso, which was as follows :

“ ‘ Provided, that as an express and fundamental condition of the acquisition of any territory from the Republic of Mexico, by the United States, by virtue of any treaty which may be negotiated between them, and of the use by the Executive of any moneys hereafter appropriated, neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of said territory, except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted.’ ”

“ No Southern Democrat could have gone home to face his constituents if he had consented to the passage of that resolution which they not only regarded as an affront to the South, but which would have baffled the purpose for which they had involved the country in war and for which all their political effort for years had been directed. Mr. Lewis on being asked by Mr. Davis to state his reason why the proviso should be stricken out, replied that there was no time now for giving reasons or making explanations. He undoubtedly hoped to get a vote in the Senate without debate, that the Senate would strike out the proviso, and that thereupon the House, on the ground that the measure would be lost unless it receded, would abandon its position. This actually happened, in regard to this bill, at the next session, as Von Holst states in regard to similar measures bearing

on the same subject. This appears from Mr. Pierce's narrative. Mr. Davis spoke but about fifteen minutes in all. When Lewis found that he was determined to debate the measure and so prevent a vote on the pending motion to strike out the provision, he implored Mr. Davis to yield that he might introduce a resolution rescinding the order for adjournment. If that had been done, what took place at the next session, namely, the passage of the bill without the proviso, would have taken place then. Mr. Davis firmly and wisely refused to give way. He did not prevent the passage of the Wilmot proviso, which never could have passed through the Senate, as then constituted, and never would have been signed by President Polk if it had passed. He prevented the Senate from striking out the Wilmot proviso, and the House from concurring in the bill to give the extraordinary power to the President of expending two million dollars for foreign territory for the purpose of making it a part of a slave empire.

“ Mr. Davis had, as appears from his speech at the next session, the hope that a vote might be taken in the Senate, when there would be time only to pass the bill as it came from the House, but not sufficient time to send it back to the House with an amendment. This would have put upon the slave-holding party the distinct responsibility of rejecting a measure in the interest of peace, unless they could secure new territory for slavery. But there was a difference of about eight minutes in the clocks in the two chambers. So the adjournment of the House took place and the legislative power of the Senate was ended by the announcement that the House had adjourned. Mr. Davis was disappointed in that particular. But it was a matter of comparatively little importance.

“ Von Holst says, in the passage that has been cited, ‘On him were now poured out all the vials of wrath, not of the friends of the proviso, but of the Administration. They were thinking only of the two millions, or

at least they acted as if they were thinking of these.'

"It is strange that so industrious and discriminating a writer should not see that the fact that Mr. Davis's course caused the 'vials of wrath, not of the friends of the proviso, but of the Administration' to be poured out upon his head requires some better explanation than that he gives. It was because he had baffled the purpose for the time being, not of the friends of the proviso but of the friends of the Administration, that the wrath was poured out upon him from that quarter. The friends of the Administration were not at that time thinking 'only of the two millions' for which they did not care a straw. They were thinking of acquiring from Mexico the territory—to get which the war had been waged—to be made slave territory, and they knew that Mr. Davis had prevented the passage of a measure authorizing its acquisition which, if it had passed at all at that session, would have passed only without the proviso, or condition, as it did at the next. The men whose anger was poured out upon John Davis understood the matter then and saw it in all its relations quite as distinctly as the ablest student of history sees it now. Who was the Senator who had charge of the measure in the Senate and whose frequent and impatient interruptions of Mr. Davis showed the eagerness of his desire? It was Mr. Dixon H. Lewis of Alabama, the same gentleman who had moved to strike out the proviso which the House had attached to the bill, and who very well understood the condition of the measure and the certainty that the House would recede, if he could get the Senate to vote in time.

"Mr. Davis explained the matter himself in a speech in the Senate, made February 27, 1847. This explanation being in the middle of a speech of some length has probably escaped the attention of the writers to whom we have referred. This explanation, although we have it in the imperfect reporting of that date, is, in substance, what has been given before. Mr. Davis adds that there was a difference

in the clocks in the Senate and the House, and leaves us to understand that he expected there would be a vote upon the bill, but that he meant to take up so much time there would be no opportunity to amend it and send it back to the House.

“ It seems to me, therefore, quite clear that if Mr. Davis had refrained from speaking the Senate would have struck out the proviso, if it had come to a vote, and the House would have concurred, as actually happened at the next session. It is impossible for any person who knows how the Senate was constituted at that day, to believe that the South would have abandoned the object for which the Mexican war was instituted and consented to the exclusion of slavery from the territory to be acquired. Mr. Davis’s action seems to me to have been wise and timely. It is, I suppose, needless to say that while I have deemed this statement to be due to the truth of history, and to be required as an act of simple justice to a great statesman and honored President of this Society, that it comes from a person too young, at the time of Mr. Davis’s death, to have had any intimate personal acquaintance with him, and from a person who differed from Mr. Davis in opinion as to the best political method of dealing with the engrossing and vital question with which the American people were dealing during the years which were the last of Mr. Davis’s political life, and the beginning of mine.”

(Wilson’s History of the Slave Power in America, Vol. 2, p. 17.)—

“ It was taken up in the Senate on the last day of the session, which was close at noon, and a motion was made to strike out the proviso. John Davis of Massachusetts took the floor, and, he declining to yield it, the bill and proviso were lost. Mr. Davis was much censured at the time for not permitting a vote to be taken. But, whatever were his motives, it is probable that a vote could not have been reached on the motion to strike out the proviso; and, if it had been, it would have unquestionably prevailed, as there was a majority of slaveholders in that body, and the exigencies of the system would not have allowed them to see the purpose of the war thus defeated. It has indeed been since affirmed by Mr. Brinkerhoff that there was ‘ a well-ascertained and unan-

ymous determination on the part of the Democratic senators of the free States to stand by the proviso, and that those of Delaware and Maryland would have voted with them.' But surely Mr. Brinkerhoff must have been mistaken. It is barely possible that Democratic senators from the free States would have voted for that measure, but their previous and subsequent conduct does not justify the belief that they would have done so. Mr. Pierce of Maryland and the two Delaware senators are not living to speak for themselves but the subsequent course of Mr. Pierce and John M. Clayton gave no assurance that they would have voted for the proviso had it come to a vote. The probability is strong that they would have voted against it, and Reverdy Johnson, in a letter written in April, 1873, states in the most unequivocal language that he should not have voted for it."

Dr. ELLIS: "Probably I am the only one here who remembers meeting Mr. Davis in this hall."

Dr. E. E. HALE read a few lines which he had received from our associate, Mr. EDWIN D. MEAD, referring to a movement now in progress to secure a permanent monument to General Rufus Putnam. He continued: "I understand that the spirited Society of Antiquity at Worcester has appointed a committee to have the matter in charge, and to secure his house in Rutland to be preserved as a centre of historical monuments. It is said that the whole farm can be bought for three thousand dollars. I am anxious that it should appear in our records that we interest ourselves in this important matter, and I believe that the patriotism of Worcester County can be relied on to assist in this work. I make no motion, for I do not think the Society can act as a Society."

On motion it was voted that all the papers and remarks which had been presented be referred to the Committee on Publication.

Dissolved.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE Council of the American Antiquarian Society are able to report another year of prosperity for all the interests of the Society, as shown in detail in the accompanying semi-annual communications from the Treasurer and the Librarian.

Since our meeting in April last three vacancies have been made in the roll of our membership by the deaths of Dr. George Chandler of Worcester, the Hon. Charles C. Jones, Jr., of Augusta, Ga., and the Hon. John J. Bell of Exeter, N. H. We have also received notice of the death of one foreign member, Señor Eligio Ancona of Mexico.

George Chandler was elected into the Society in October, 1857, and was therefore at the time of his death the ninth in seniority upon our roll. He was born in Pomfret, Connecticut, on April 28, 1806, the eighth child and fourth son of Major John Wilkes and Mary (Stedman) Chandler, and the fifth in descent from William and Annis Chandler, who emigrated from England to Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1637. His father was a prosperous farmer in Pomfret, but died during the infancy of this son, who lived at home until he was 17½ years old, when he was sent to the Academy in Dudley, Worcester County, Massachusetts. After two terms of instruction there and a term at Leicester Academy in the same county, he taught for a winter in the neighboring town of Sutton, and then pursued further studies in the Academy in Woodstock, Conn. In the spring of 1826 he joined the Freshman class in Brown University, but at the close of the Sophomore year, in consequence of the disturbed state of that institution, he removed to Union College, N. Y., where he was graduated in 1829. He then read medicine with Dr. Hiram Holt of Pomfret,

who had married his sister, and after attending one course of lectures in Boston and another in New Haven he received the degree of M.D. from Yale in 1831.

In November of the same year he opened an office in Worcester, but after a brief experience in general practice he became in March, 1833, Assistant Physician in the State Lunatic Hospital, just established in Worcester, under the efficient charge of Dr. Samuel B. Woodward. He retained this post until May, 1842, when he resigned, and in the same month married Miss Josephine Rose of Salem, a daughter of Joseph W. Rose of Antigua, West Indies, and granddaughter of Dr. William Paine of Worcester, one of the founders and the first Vice-President of this Society. Four months later he took charge of a new asylum for the insane, just erected on plans furnished by him, in Concord, N. H. After a little over three years, during which time he had placed the institution on a satisfactory basis, he resigned for family reasons; and a few months later, in July, 1846, he accepted an invitation to succeed Dr. Woodward in the superintendency of the Worcester Asylum. He retired from this position in July, 1856, at the age of fifty, after ten years of exhaustive labor, in which his difficult duties had been discharged with conspicuous fidelity and success. His residence continued in Worcester, and he gave his services to the city as one of its representatives in the State Legislature in 1859, and as an alderman in 1862. His wife died on May 4, 1866, and during the next three years he made an extended tour abroad with the two daughters who now survive him. The most important literary labor of his life seemed to be accomplished when he had carried successfully through the press in 1872 an elaborate genealogy, of nearly 1250 pages, entitled *The Chandler Family*; but unfortunately only forty-one copies had been delivered from the binders when the great Boston fire of that year destroyed the rest of the edition.

On April 8, 1874, Dr. Chandler was married to Mary

E., daughter of Stephen Douglas of Greenwich, Mass., and widow of Charles A. Wheeler of Worcester, who survives him. In the following summer he made another visit to Europe. For a long time after his return he resisted all entreaties for a reprint of his genealogy; but at length, in February, 1882, with rare patience and hopefulness, he began the preparation of a new edition, which was published at Worcester (pp. viii., 1315) in the summer of 1883, in the author's seventy-eighth year, and which will always be a creditable monument to his industry, thoroughness, and ability. In the years of life which remained to him he held a peculiar place in the reverent esteem of his associates in this Society and of all his fellow-citizens, until his death, in Worcester, from the infirmities of age, on May 17, 1893, in his eighty-eighth year.

Dr. Chandler served for several years as one of the Auditors of this Society, and he showed his affection for it, and his appreciation of the aid received at our Library during his genealogical studies, by contributing in January, 1884,¹ the sum of \$500 to establish a "George Chandler Fund" for procuring works on genealogy and kindred subjects. He gave at the same time two hundred copies of his book, to be used for the same purpose, either by sale or in exchange, reserving none of the edition for himself, but forwarding thereafter all orders from purchasers to the Society. As the result of this thoughtful provision, about one hundred and fifty volumes on family history have already been added to our Library, and there still remain one hundred and twenty-five copies of *The Chandler Family* for future sale or exchange.

Charles Colcock Jones, Jr., was born in Savannah, Georgia, on October 28, 1831, being the eldest son of the Rev. Dr. Charles Colcock Jones, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church in that city. His father died in 1863, but in

¹ Proceedings, New Series, iii., 96.

order to preserve a useful distinction Colonel Jones retained until his death the "Jr." attached to his own name.

In 1848 he entered the South Carolina College at Columbia, where his father was then professor in the Theological Seminary. In 1850 the latter became secretary of the (Old School) Presbyterian Board of Domestic Missions, in Philadelphia, and the son removed to Princeton College, where he was graduated in 1852. He then read law for a year in Philadelphia, and afterwards studied for another year in the Harvard Law School, where he received the degree of LL.B. in 1855. He was admitted to the bar of Savannah in May, 1855, and was in the enjoyment of a large practice by the time that he was elected mayor of that city in 1860, at the age of 29. During his mayoralty, with his entire approbation, Georgia followed South Carolina in the secession movement; and at the close of his year of office, having declined a re-nomination, he joined the Chatham Artillery in the Confederate service, on the Georgia coast, with the rank of First Lieutenant. In the fall of 1862 he was promoted to the grade of Lieutenant Colonel and assigned to duty as Chief of Artillery for the military district of Georgia (embracing subsequently part of South Carolina). He was Chief of Artillery during the siege of Savannah in December, 1864, and was afterwards attached to the staff of General Hardee in a like capacity, and was included in the surrender of General Joseph E. Johnston's army, which occurred near Greensboro', North Carolina, in April, 1865.

Late in the following December Colonel Jones removed to New York City, and there resumed the practice of his profession with gratifying success. In New York he enjoyed opportunities for literary society and for study, which stimulated him to a broader culture and to a frequent use of his pen on historical and archæological themes. While residing there he was elected to membership in this Society, in April, 1869, and on the same day read a paper on *Ancient Tumuli in Georgia*, which

was published in our Proceedings (pp. 27 and 2 pl.).

In the spring of 1877 he returned to Georgia and fixed his home in the village of Summerville, near Augusta, where he resided until his death on July 19, 1893, in his sixty-second year. During this last period of his life he continued to be engaged in the practice of his profession, but meantime found leisure for much literary labor. Colonel Jones began his career as an author with an address before the Georgia Historical Society in 1859, on *Indian Remains in Southern Georgia*; and his first separate publication of importance was a collection of kindred monographs on the *Monumental Remains of Georgia*, in 1861. After his removal to New York, and before his election into our membership, he had published historical sketches of the *Chatham Artillery during the Confederate Struggle for Independence* (1867), and of *Tomo-Chi-Chi, Mico of the Yamacraws* (1868), besides a brief paper on the *Ancient Tumuli on the Savannah River* (1868). These titles indicate also the range of his future studies, and it may be sufficient to mention only a few of the more important of his remaining contributions to literature. Of these the chief was his *History of Georgia* (1883), in two large volumes, which covered in a masterly and exhaustive manner the aboriginal, colonial and revolutionary epochs. Ten years earlier appeared his *Antiquities of the Southern Indians, particularly of the Georgia Tribes*, his largest independent work in that special field of archæology of which he was an acknowledged master. Along with these more serious undertakings he was also occupied, especially after his return to the South, with the preparation of a large number of briefer addresses and essays, mainly on subjects of local historical interest, which extended largely his reputation. The most elaborate of these efforts was his *Life of Commodore Josiah Tattnall*, published in 1878. Among his latest work was a little volume of *Negro Myths from the Georgia Coast, told in the Vernacular* (1888), a

contribution of distinct value to the dialectic folk-lore of the Southern States.

Colonel Jones took pride in his membership with us, and frequently remembered our Library by gifts of material for Southern history. He received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of the City of New York in 1880.

He was married on November 9, 1858, to Miss Ruth Berrien Whitehead of Burke County, Georgia; and after her death was a second time married on October 28, 1863, to her cousin, Miss Eva Berrien Eve of Augusta.

John James Bell, who was elected a member of this Society in April, 1879, and who died very suddenly from apoplexy while waiting for a railroad train at Manchester, New Hampshire, on August 22, 1893, was born in Chester, New Hampshire, on October 30, 1827, being the eldest child of the Hon. Samuel Dana Bell (Harvard, 1816), afterwards Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of that State, and grandson of Governor and Senator Samuel Bell (Dartmouth, 1793).

He began the study of law with his father and continued it by attendance during parts of the years 1845 to 1847 at the Harvard Law School, where he was admitted in the last named year to the degree of LL.B. After this he undertook the care of his father's large landed and lumber interests in Maine, and this delayed for a long time his entrance on professional life, which was finally begun in Nashua, New Hampshire. In 1864 he removed to Exeter, where his industry and ability soon brought him into prominence and where he resided until his death. He retired from active practice after about ten years, during which time and subsequently he filled many local offices, among them that of Judge of the Exeter Police Court from 1876 to 1883. In 1883, 1885, 1887 and 1891 he was a representative in the Legislature. During this latter period of his life, by

means of his extensive business relations he became widely known and influential through the State. He was deeply interested in the development of New Hampshire railroads and manufactures, and found time also to serve the State on several important commissions, such as that to establish a boundary line with Massachusetts. He was also at the time of his death the chairman of the State Library Commission. His knowledge of the history of New Hampshire was remarkably minute, and he was ever jealously anxious for everything pertaining to her welfare. He had filled for some years the office of President of the New Hampshire Historical Society, and showed his interest in our own meetings by occasional attendance.

Judge Bell married on April 13, 1881, Cora L., second daughter of Harvey Kent of Exeter, who survives him with two sons.

I am permitted to add to this report a sketch of a recently deceased foreign member which has been prepared by President Salisbury.

Señor **Eligio Ancona**, statesman, historian and author, was born in the city of Mérida, Yucatan, Mexico, December 1, 1836. His father was a schoolmaster and the son became his assistant. Early in life, the death of the father having left the son as the sole support of his mother and a large family, Señor Ancona met the responsibilities thrown upon him with an energy and ability that caused difficulties to vanish. In addition to his duties as a teacher he was able to pursue the study of the law and received his diploma in 1862. He showed his literary talents about this time by the publication of historical novels entitled *La Mestiza*, *La Cruz y la Espada*, and *El Filibustero*, which were received with great favor and which furnished him the means for continuing still longer the life of a student. During the first years of the unfortunate Empire, Ancona warmly espoused the liberal cause and became editor of *La Pildora*,

the exponent of the party in Yucatan. For this offence he was exiled for several months. On the restoration of the Republic he returned and allied himself to the Governor of Yucatan, General Cepeda, as editor of *La Razon del Pueblo*, which became, and still continues to be, the official organ of the government.

At this time he acted as first secretary of the Governor and was chiefly instrumental in establishing the *Instituto Literario*, or Normal School of Yucatan. Soon after he was elected Deputado to the Nacional Congress at Mexico. In 1867 Ancona was appointed Governor *Interino* of Yucatan by President Juarez. After one year's service he resigned this post and returned to Mexico, where he devoted himself to literary pursuits and published *Los Martires del Anahuac*, which added new laurels to his reputation as a novelist.

During disturbances in Yucatan in 1874 Ancona was appointed by the Legislature Governor *Interino*, and soon after was elected Constitutional Governor, which office he filled with great acceptance for two years, and then retired to private life, dedicating his time to letters, and wrote his *Historia de Yucatan*, in four volumes, which has become the most imperishable monument of his fame. This history is recognized as a most trustworthy account of what is known of the condition of the peninsula of Yucatan at the time of the discovery, and is of especial interest to the archæologist.

Señor Ancona served as Councillor of the Government, Magistrate of the Circuit, President of the Council of Instruction, and finally was made Magistrate of the Supreme Court of Justice at Mexico, in the duties of which office he was engaged when removed by the hand of death, at the capital of the Republic, on April 3, 1893.

Señor Ancona was excessively modest and unostentatious in his bearing, honorable in all his dealings, incapable of falsehood, and unwavering in his devotion to republican principles. The Legislature of the State of Yucatan set

apart the third day of May of this year to be publicly observed as a day of mourning and eulogy for this distinguished patriot, which was the occasion of a universal manifestation of public and private grief and sorrow in the capital of Yucatan.

Señor Ancona became a member of this Society in April, 1880, an honor for which he showed his appreciation by the gift of an elegantly bound autograph copy of his valuable *Historia de Yucatan*.

For the Council.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER.

ON SOME SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS AT HARVARD AND YALE, BEFORE THE REVOLUTION.

BY FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER.

IN the catalogues of graduates of Harvard College down to 1772, and in those of Yale down to 1767, the names of the students in the successive classes are placed—not alphabetically, as now, and not as at Oxford or Cambridge in the order of application for admission, or according to scholastic merit, but—in an order supposed to indicate the rank of their respective fathers or families.

Such a system was a wholly natural consequence of the conditions of life to which the founders of Harvard had been accustomed in the mother country ; and although no directly corresponding usage is traceable at either of the English universities, where these founders had themselves been trained, yet I believe we can connect the system logically with the distinctions there observed. Thus the revised matriculation statutes adopted at Oxford in 1565, and in force in the time of the Harvard founders, adjusted the scale of fees for the ceremony of matriculation in accordance with the social rank of the fathers of the candidates, from 13 s. 4 d. paid by the son of a prince, duke or marquis, down to 4 d., the charge to *plebei filius*, which would naturally be understood as the son of a yeoman, and 2 d. to a servitor.¹ The phrase at Cambridge corresponding to *plebei filius* was *mediocris fortunæ*, and in practice both were, I fancy, elastic enough to include a large part of the ordinary students. The most careful authorities on Oxford and Cambridge antiquities give us nothing which is more

¹ Register of the Univ., vol. 2, pt. 1, 165 (Oxford Hist. Soc. Publications, X.).

to the point than such regulations as these ; and the system as developed at Harvard may be fairly described as a natural deduction from the structure of university society, as of general society, in the England of Elizabeth and James the First.

I have been favored with comments on the subject from several English correspondents, and I may be allowed to quote at length from a private letter of Dr. Venn, senior fellow and historian of Caius College, Cambridge, with whose view of the matter such other eminent authorities as Mr. J. Bass Mullinger, the librarian of St. John's College, Cambridge, and historian of the University, and the Rev. Andrew Clark, fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford, seem to coincide substantially. Dr. Venn says :—

“As we all know, the University classification was a *threefold* one, viz., into fellow-commoners, pensioners and sizars ; and this has been unchanged, at any rate since the commencement of the matriculations in 1544. But from Elizabethan times, and perhaps earlier, our classification at Caius was a *fivefold* one : (1) Fellow-commoners, containing the young men of family, and Masters of Arts ; then come three classes of pensioners, sometimes described as *primi*, *secundi* and *tertii ordinis*, or more particularly : (2) Pensioners to the Bachelors' table, containing besides the Bachelors, other undergraduates ; (3) Pensioners to the Scholars' table ; to this belonged not only those who were actual scholars, *i. e.*, on the foundation, but also those who intended to try for scholarships (so I judge) and probably other students who could not pay the higher fees for the other tables ; (4) ‘Pensioners’ simply, corresponding to the bulk of the modern students ; (5) Sizars, who waited on the Fellows, etc., and ate what they left. This arrangement was strictly speaking one of the *table* at which the student had his meals ; but it is plain that some sort of social precedence was thus indicated :—the fees were successively higher from the Sizar upwards ; the lad of better

social position takes one of the second or third class, if he is not an actual fellow-commoner; the division of the graduates' fees at Commencement Day, etc., for the purpose of feasts, follows the same arrangement, and so on. I have come in fact on frequent indications that these successive grades implied a certain social precedence. This arrangement was in full work, with us, throughout the seventeenth century, but gradually decayed during the eighteenth. To some extent it was an arrangement in 'order of family rank'; for, the fees being higher in the upper tables, youths of rank were more likely to be found in them; but there was no attempt to arrange trades and professions in any order of precedence."

The substance of the English custom is well expressed by Mr. Mullinger, who writes that "the students themselves, on entering, defined their own status by the fee which they paid. That they themselves paid fees according to their means and social position was quite different from any such distinction being insisted on by the College."

But however the founders of the first New England college may have departed from the customs which they left behind them, it is no wonder that a system which had gone on for two generations at Harvard, should have been adopted in turn by the ministers who gave shape to the college in Connecticut, as part of the natural order of collegiate discipline.

A more direct copy, in Harvard's first century, of a social distinction peculiar to the transatlantic Cambridge, was the enrolment of a few of the richer students as Fellow-Commoners, that is, strictly, undergraduates entitled to take their meals at Commons at the Fellows' table.¹ But this badge of aristocracy, never frequent, had nearly passed out of use before the institution of the collegiate school in Connecticut, where indeed there would have been little or no opportunity for its cultivation.

¹ Such were Wyllys, class of 1653; Saltonstall, 1659; Browne, 1666; Wainwright, 1686; the brothers Vassall, 1732 and 1738.

It is, of course, impossible at this distance of time to recover and estimate in their due proportions all the considerations determining the arrangement of class-lists formed on a scheme of social rank; my hope is merely to bring out some of the general principles which guided the action of the college authorities, and incidentally to gather some information on social grades in the community.

It seems to have been the duty of the President—or Rector, as he was commonly styled at Yale until after 1745,—or of the President in conjunction with the resident Fellows or Tutors as a Faculty, to arrange the list of each class, soon after entrance into college. The earliest formal record at Harvard of this sort, begins with the beginning of the first volume of the Records of the Faculty in 1725, where under date of December is the entry: “Twenty and seven Scholars were admitted into the College this year. They were placed or disposed in the Class by the President and Fellows, as follows.” The list of names of the class as it was afterwards graduated in 1729 is then given, and similar entries occur annually thenceforth. With the class of 1732 the residence of each member is added, and his age by years. Instead of the last item, in the class of 1741, the exact date of birth is substituted, and in this form the record continues until the custom expires. The period of the academic year when the list was thus made out varied from September until June, being most frequently in March or one of the adjoining months.

At Yale the only corresponding records are those contained in some private note-books kept by President Clap, which cover the classes from 1747 to 1757 and from 1761 to 1767; and the lists are supplemented by occasional memoranda of items respecting the standing and fortunes of the parents, jotted down by the President apparently for his own information and guidance; the lists in the Faculty books at Harvard, being mere formal records, contain, so far as I have noticed, only a single instance of like nature,

where the father of a certain candidate in the class of 1734 is described as a shipwright.

The lists thus determined near the opening of the college course stood unchanged ever after, excepting when (very rarely) some error in the arrangement, due to imperfect knowledge, was subsequently corrected, or when an individual was punished by a change of place, or "degradation," a penalty next to expulsion in severity, on account of misdemeanors.

Many instances could be cited to prove that a rise in the father's social or official position during a son's college course was not allowed to disturb the class arrangement as already fixed.¹ A pertinent illustration is the case of Joseph Parsons, at the foot of the class of 1697; at the beginning of his senior year his father was promoted to a judgeship of the Hampshire County Court, but without affecting the college rank of the son.

All the evidence tends to show that the problem of arrangement was, as we should expect, a perplexing one. In the earlier generations at Harvard, family pedigree seems to have been the paramount consideration, while the father's individual standing was distinctly secondary; but as a longer interval separated the colonists from their English home and its definite laws of precedence, the more difficult became the determination of family rank in communities as homogeneous as these of New England. It still remained true, however, to the latest date, as I believe, both at Harvard and at Yale, that the general social standing of the family was taken into account, as well as the father's personal status, in deciding a student's grade; and I think I do not exaggerate in saying that, at Harvard especially, there was continually a conscious effort to keep up the respect due to family names of past distinction by concessions of this sort on the college roll. This influence was

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, VIII., 33.

less felt and less welcomed at Yale, where the constituency was always more democratic and more homespun than that of the elder university. And yet, even here, the prestige of an honored ancestral name was always valued. To illustrate: John Still Winthrop leads the Yale class-list of 1737, although his father by no means filled such important public station as the fathers of the three or four youths next below him; but the Winthrop name was second to none in New England in renown, and carried its own justification for unrivalled precedence. Taking the whole of the class-lists at both colleges subject to this arrangement, Winthrop is the name which is uniformly found in a higher position than any other occurring as often (ten times in all); six of these times it holds the first place, being surpassed in that special pre-eminence by only two other names, Hutchinson and Russell, each of which occurs seven times in that rank.

To continue the statistics on this head, it appears that the next below the names already mentioned, in frequency of occurrence in the first place, are Dudley and Saltonstall (five times each). The names most notably frequent, after Winthrop, in a uniformly high grade are, Davenport and Wainwright (each six times, and always in the first four places); Quincy (nine times, not lower than the first five places); Danforth (nine times, in the first six places); and Oliver (twenty times, in the first seven places).

Not a single name occurring more than once stands uniformly at the head of the list; and the Connecticut name of Wyllys is the only one occurring as many as four times, which is always in either the first or the second rank.

It may be worth while in this connection to note the frequency with which the leading family names are represented in the two oldest universities of New England, throughout their history. Taking as guides the latest catalogues of graduates (Harvard, 1890; Yale, 1892), it is not unexpected to find that the name of Smith leads all the rest in either catalogue, though by far more common at

Yale than at Harvard.¹ At Harvard, on the other hand, Brown is a strong second,² while barely fourth at Yale,³ where the second place is still held by Williams,⁴ a good third at Harvard;⁵ and the remaining place, third at Yale,⁶ and fourth at Harvard,⁷ is given to Clark. If the lists of the two colleges are combined (omitting duplicates), the order of names is, Smith, Williams, Clark, Brown, Adams, Hall, Allen, White, Johnson, Jones, Davis, Parker, Green, Hubbard,—these being all which have as many as a hundred representatives, and also all which at either college count up to two-thirds of that number, besides the Baldwins and the Stronges, who are exceptionally frequent in the Yale catalogue.⁸

In estimating family rank, I believe also that an ample fortune was taken prominently into account, and that some of the perplexing cases, where persons of undoubted family claims are placed low in the class-lists, may in part at least be explained by straitened paternal circumstances. This consideration had, as I conjecture, its influence in relegating the sons of the Rev. Charles Chauncy in the classes of 1651 and 1657 at Harvard to some of the lowest places; I may quote also, as suggesting a similar effect, a memorandum made repeatedly by President Clap of Yale in his notebooks, in the times of a greatly depreciated currency (about 1753–4), where he describes the parents of certain students, low in grade, as “of middling estate, much impoverished.”

The point suggested should not, however, be pressed too far. While I am convinced of an exceptional regard paid to wealth, and of slights put upon some who failed by this test, I ought also to direct attention to a small class of instances in the early decades at Harvard, where certain persons of good family appear by the records to have paid their way in part by such services as waiting in the hall or bell-ringing, and yet to have retained the full rank to which

¹ 154, Harvard; 219, Yale. ² 120. ³ 89. ⁴ 120. ⁵ 119. ⁶ 111. ⁷ 107.

⁸ Seventy-three Baldwins here to 22 at Harvard, and 67 Stronges to 12.

they were entitled. These cases present no inconsistency with the general rule, family rank being the normal standard, and wealth or poverty an accessory of varying importance, as connected with the different problems of each new class-list.

Aside from general family rank, then, in estimating the claims of a student, the comparative wealth or poverty and the professional or official standing of his father were mainly to be regarded. So far as I have seen, the mother's family, and her earlier alliances in case of a prior marriage, were not much heeded. An instance in point is that of Samuel Pomeroy, the lowest in rank of the Yale class of 1705, a son of a country farmer, whose wife, however, had previously been the wife of a clergyman, a Harvard graduate, and the son of a distinguished President of that seminary. Neither did the fact of a student's having had a brother graduate at college and enter on a learned profession, have usually any perceptible weight, nor do remoter relationships seem to have interfered with the application of general rules. A single instance of the practice in a brother's case is that of Simon Tufts, below the middle of the class of 1724 at Harvard, and own brother of the Rev. John Tufts, who held relatively the same position in the class of 1708, and was now established in the ministerial ranks. In the case of Isaac Browne, last in the Yale class of 1729, and a brother of the Rev. Daniel Browne, Yale, 1714, we may conjecture that the elder brother's defection to episcopacy, with Rector Cutler, subjected his young relative at least to an unconscious prejudice, and certainly prevented any substantial advantage accruing to his favor. Somewhat like this would seem to have been the fate of John Brainerd, in the class of 1746, who entered Yale a few months after his brother David's expulsion for contumacy, and so, although the son of a dignified magistrate, was placed next the foot of his class by the implacable Rector Clap; the oldest brother of the family had been ranked fourth out of twenty-three in

the class of 1732,—a totally different treatment from that now accorded to the youngest. The small effect of remoter relationships may be seen in the case of John Norton, who is placed next the last in the class of 1671 at Harvard, though a nephew of the Rev. John Norton and of Sir George Downing, and a great-nephew of Governor Winthrop.

I think it also tolerably clear that, in some cases at least, non-residents of the colony or province in which the college was situated were under some disadvantage as compared with residents. So, in one of the earliest Harvard classes (1649), a son of Governor Eaton of New Haven yields precedence to a son of the Rev. Nathaniel Rogers of Massachusetts Bay, who represents a family surely not superior in blood to the Eatons. A similar consideration may have been a cumulative force in depressing the rank of the sons of the Rev. Charles Chauncy of the Plymouth Colony in 1651; and it may help to explain the like fortune of a son of the Rev. Thomas Hooker of Connecticut in 1653. So also at Yale, in the class of 1705, David Parsons, the son of a Judge of the Court of Common Pleas in the Province of Massachusetts Bay, was ranked below the sons of decidedly less prominent laymen who were of Connecticut birth and residence. The motto for guidance was not apparently "*Omne ignotum pro magnifico*," so much as "Charity begins at home."

In some early cases it seems as though the father's death had affected the son's rank unfavorably. An apt illustration is that of Joseph Haynes, Harvard, 1658, the son of Governor Haynes of Connecticut, who is put below Joseph Eliot; while in the class of 1656 the order of the names of two brothers of these students is exactly reversed; the only apparent difference in the respective circumstances being that when the class of 1656 entered college, Governor Haynes was living, and that two years later he was dead. Another instance of marked difference in the treatment of two brothers is seen in the case of the sons of the Rev.

Nathaniel Rogers (Harvard, 1649 and 1659); and here again the much lower grading of the younger son coincides with the father's removal by death. I doubt, also, whether if Governor Dudley had been alive, his son would have stood second in the class of 1665.

Another case, that of Ezra Reeve (Yale, 1757), may be cited as evidence that loss of standing on a father's part affected the son's position. Reeve's father was deposed from the ministry for intemperance about 1748, and presumably for that reason the son is not ranked along with other ministers' sons in his class, but is placed in a distinctly inferior group.

We come next to the cases of degradation for personal reasons. In the Yale experience these occurred but rarely. At Harvard, on the other hand, at least during the period covered by the extant Faculty Records, this punishment seems to have been more familiarly used and with a somewhat different scope from that which is generally assigned to it. From these records I should say that in common usage degradation was resorted to, not with the purpose of being a final, but rather as a temporary expedient. At least I should estimate from a hasty inspection that in fully five-sixths of the cases recorded, repentance and confession secured, after a few months, restoration to the original standing.

Yet, after all abatements, degradation remained as a sober reality for a few cases. The earliest suspected instance is that of James Ward, next the foot of the Harvard class of 1645, the son of a clergyman, who is known to have been otherwise punished for the crime of burglary in his junior year. In the class of two years later, William Mildmay, the son of a knight, is placed below all his classmates; and such a fate can hardly have been the result of anything but personal misconduct. Again, at the foot of the class of 1658 stands a son of the Rev. Thomas Shepard; and in contrast with the rank of another son who was graduated

earlier, this perhaps implies some censure in his college experience. Another case may be that of Bezaleel Sherman, last in the class of 1661, the son of a clergyman, a graduate of Cambridge, England, and a Fellow of Harvard, who deserved on all family grounds a higher place. A notable case is that of Samuel Melyen, class of 1696, who was degraded three places in his sophomore year for connection with a trifling disturbance, and whose unavailing efforts after graduation to secure reinstatement have found their way into print¹ in our own day.

During the last forty-five years of the continuance of the system at Harvard, the evidence of the Faculty Records should be conclusive as to the number of cases in which the penalty of degradation was permanently enforced; and if I have counted correctly there are but eight such cases mentioned. The occasions of punishment in these instances are of the familiar sort,—such as stealing fowls, insulting tutors, Sabbath breaking, and in one case (most severely dealt with, involving a drop from a place well within the first half of the class to the very foot) stealing combustibles and making a bonfire. Details are unnecessary, unless one case may serve as an index to the others, where a country minister's son, entering college in 1748, at thirteen and one-half, and being convicted of the mild crime of breaking windows, was thenceforth degraded two places, and yet lived to be a most respected citizen, at the head of the medical profession in the State of his residence.²

The list of similar incidents at Yale begins with the name of Jonathan Dickinson, of the class of 1731, the namesake of an honored father, a leader of American Presbyterianism, but himself notorious in college and afterwards as a disreputable fellow; his place at the foot of the class can only be accounted for as in retribution for some of his offences. The extant Record of the Acts and Judgments of the Yale

¹ Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, viii., 33-35, 281, 282.

² Dr. Ammi R. Cutter of Portsmouth, N. H.

Faculty begins with December, 1751, and I cite in passing the initial entry as characteristic of the times and manners :—

“Whereas Holmes, a student of this College, on 10th of Nov^r. last, being the Sabbath or Lord’s Day, travelled unnecessarily, and that with a Burden or Pack behind him, from beyond Wallingford to this place ; which is contrary to the Divine and Civil Law, as well as to the Laws of this College :

“It is therefore considered by the President, with the Advice of the Tutors, that the said Holmes shall be fined 20^d. sterl., viz. 20/ O. Tenor.”

Holmes was a great-uncle of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes, and spent his life as a highly respected minister of the Gospel, so that it is a relief to find a subsequent entry to the effect that “the abovenamed Stephen Holmes made a public Confession in the Hall for the Crime abovesaid, and therefore the abovementioned Judgment was not put in Execution.”

At this period, under the despotic and somewhat petty rule of President Clap, disorder on the part of the students abounded, and was met with nagging punishments. Probably there has never been a time in the experience at Yale when antagonism between the authorities and the students has been so ingeniously and assiduously cultivated ; but as to the penalty of degradation, the Faculty Records from 1751 to 1767, including more than half of Clap’s presidency, mention only four cases,—the first being that of Isaac Burr, of the class of 1753, a native of Worcester, the son of a clergyman, who was moved down three places, late in his junior year, as a part of his punishment for repeatedly kicking a senior—after what provocation does not appear. Three of his classmates are known to have suffered a like penalty at some earlier period in their course, and three later cases are recorded, for such misdemeanors as playing with dice, and bringing rum into the college buildings without leave.

To return to the general principles of arrangement: there can be no doubt that important relations of the students' parents to the college or to other colleges were recognized in the ranking. Thus it usually happens that the sons of Trustees and other college officers or benefactors are given an advantage in comparison with that otherwise to be accorded them. Thus the youngest sons of the Rev. Charles Chauncy, already twice referred to, made a great stride, in the Harvard class of 1661, after their father had become President, above the position of their elder brothers, who entered from a poor country parsonage in Scituate. A striking exception is the case of Joseph Noyes, Yale, 1709, son of the senior Trustee; and I can only account for the low place assigned him (seventh in a list of nine) by a reference to his father's rank at Harvard, which was the lowest in his class, and by supposing that perhaps a modest adherence to the standard thus set was in conformity with the father's own preference.

The cases of students who had been previously enrolled in some other college were not treated by a uniform rule. Such a case was that of Benjamin Woodbridge, who leads the entire Harvard roll, as the first name in her first graduating class;¹ but his claim for precedence over Downing, a nephew of Governor Winthrop, and Bellingham, a son of the Deputy-Governor, rests, I suppose, on the special cir-

¹I do not know how to explain the fact that the list of this first Harvard class is handed down to us in two different forms,—one as given in the Catalogue of Graduates, and another as given with the Commencement Theses in "New England's First Fruits." The two lists are as follows:

CATALOGUE OF GRADUATES.

Benjamin Woodbridge.
George Downing.
John Bulkley.
William Hubbard.
Samuel Bellingham.
John Wilson.
Henry Saltonstall.
Tobias Barnard.
Nathaniel Brewster.

NEW ENGLAND'S FIRST FRUITS.

Benjamin Woodbridge.
George Downing.
William Hubbard.
Henry Saltonstall.
John Bulkley.
John Wilson.
Nathaniel Brewster.
Samuel Bellingham.
Tobias Barnard.

cumstance that he had spent nearly four years at Oxford, so that practically he was merely examined for a degree. In the next three cases which I have noticed,—those of Edward Taylor (Harvard, 1671), Nicholas Morton (1686), and Benjamin Prat (1737),¹ admission to advanced standing placed a man at the foot of his class; and the same was true in the rare instances where a freshman after admission was able by superior work to secure promotion to the class above him. But in later usage the rule was changed; and I have noted at least four cases in the Yale classes from 1760 to 1767, and six at Harvard in the classes from 1761 to 1771, in which students admitted to advanced standing from other colleges or from private preparation were inserted in the class-lists according to their proper rank.

Passing now to the consideration of the treatment of professional standing, it should be said at once that, contrary perhaps to a prevailing impression, there was never any disposition to exalt the ministerial order above laymen of distinction. For example, in the Yale class of 1705, the earliest in my own college which affords any illustration of this point, the leading place is given to a representative of one of the honored names of Connecticut, distinguished, however, exclusively in civil life; and below him stands a scion of the Mather family, already one of the most conspicuous in the clerical annals of New England, who was moreover a special candidate for promotion as the son of a Trustee of the college. The same class-list illustrates in its lowest name, Samuel, son of Deacon Medad Pomeroy of Northampton, another fact of kindred interest, that the office of deacon and that of ruling elder, in the New-England churches, were not of themselves regarded as titles to special distinction.

At Harvard a like treatment of the sons of the clergy is abundantly manifest, as we should even more confidently

¹ Cf. Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, viii., 35, 36.

have expected. With all the reverence so justly paid by the early generations in Massachusetts Bay to their educated ministry, the clergy themselves brought with them a full appreciation of the relatively inferior position of the parish minister in their old homes, which served as an additional bulwark to protect and exalt the claims of family aristocracy. The Oxford usage in matriculation fees, already referred to (page 34), put the clergyman's son (when any distinction was made) much nearer the yeoman than the gentleman, and it took time for clerical prestige to gain an independent foothold.

An examination of almost any of the larger class-lists at Harvard or at Yale will illustrate the assertion that the sons of ministers were not unduly honored; but the wide difference between the constituencies of the two colleges appears strikingly in the statistics on this point. Yale in this early period drew her students largely from the simple, secluded communities of Connecticut and the country round about it, in which the clergy were to a large extent easily the leading figures; accordingly, in the Yale classes arranged on this system which contained both sons of laymen and sons of ministers, we find that twenty-six are headed by the former and twenty-seven by the latter. At Harvard the circumstances were different from the first; and especially as time went on, the families enriched by commerce in Boston and neighboring towns were represented in large proportions, and with them a much more numerous and important contingent of public officials than ever grew up in Connecticut, where the machinery of government was every way simpler and less ambitious. At Harvard, then, the statistics in regard to the parentage of the names leading the class-lists are, for the seventeenth century, twenty-nine sons of laymen and sixteen sons of ministers; while after this date the laity practically crowd the clergy entirely out of the first place.

Inspection proves conclusively that when professional

standing was combined, especially in the early decades at Harvard, with slender fortune or obscure family connections, the professional standing was likely to be slighted; illustrations of this are very frequent. And down to the latest period we find that the groups of ministers' sons are obliged to make way continually for the sons of civilians of no very special distinction. I recall, for instance, a case in the class of 1763 at Harvard, where Nathaniel Noyes, who was first ranked twelfth on the roll, was afterwards found to be the son of a Justice of the Peace, and when this not very notable fact was ascertained—in addition to the other claims which he had for position—he was moved up five places, thereby passing in his upward progress one or two sons of ministers.

It is evident from several cases as late as the middle of the eighteenth century that practitioners of medicine had not by that date gained a secure position as professional men. In fact, I do not recall a single instance of that period in which a doctor's son, with no other recommendation in his favor, takes any special rank. In one such case, that of Nathaniel Ruggles (Yale, 1758), President Clap's private memorandum is "Justice of the Peace, Deacon," with not a hint of a learned profession, and this puts the youth tenth in a class of forty-three; while Clement Sumner the son of another physician who did not happen to be also a Justice and a Deacon, is thirty-third in the same catalogue.

The legal profession had earned an earlier and fuller recognition, sufficiently accounted for from its public connection with the courts of justice and with all the visible machinery of governmental authority.

Next to the three learned professions ought to come that of the teacher; but not so in the regard of these college authorities. At least, we find such examples as that of Henry Rust, son of a schoolmaster in Ipswich, Massachusetts, who is allowed to stand last in the class of 1707 at Harvard.

Occasionally in these inquiries one stumbles on an interesting suggestion of the relative status of various other employments. A very early instance is in the Harvard class of 1653, where Joshua Long, son of an inn-keeper in England, takes precedence of Samuel Whiting, the son of a clergyman, who was in turn son of a Mayor of Boston, England; no more emphatic testimony could be given to the honorable regard paid in the old country to that public trust of keeping a house of entertainment, which we know to have been at that date a prerogative of citizens of the first rank. So, at Harvard in the class of 1667, John Harriman, son of an early inn-keeper at New Haven, led his class, including thus among his social inferiors the sons of the Rev. Peter Hobart, an English university graduate. As time passed, however, this particular occupation failed to maintain the same rank: witness the instances of Peter Ruck (Harvard, 1685) and James Greateon (Yale, 1754).

Probably the general expectation of those who have not looked into the matter would be that with a little study an exact order of precedence, to cover nearly all cases, could be evolved, — somewhat perhaps like this: first, sons of Governors, then in due succession sons of Deputy-Governors, of Councillors or Assistants, of ministers, of judges, of lawyers, of doctors, of members of the General Assembly, of justices of the peace and quorum, of militia officers, of merchants, of farmers, of mechanics, and so on. But if I make my meaning clear, it is evident that in practice the arrangement was governed by no such simple formula. Considerations of ancestral distinction, of family estate, of paternal position, and the like, entered into each case in ever-varying combinations, precluding the possibility of any cut-and-dried system; though it seems as if finally the increasing difficulties of the plan had made it necessary to fall back on a more definite method of classification by groups of certain fixed characters. I do not profess to have fathomed the intricacies and perplexities of the subject, nor

to be able to explain particular instances which look like the arbitrary vagaries of personal partiality or prejudice. No rule and no explanation that I am aware of can meet the case of Henry Saltonstall, son of a Knight and of an Assistant in the Government, standing seventh in the first class at Harvard, except it be the inference that in the first attempt at such a classification a settled plan was not consistently followed; nor that of Samuel Phipps, son of a carpenter of undistinguished lineage, outranking, as second in the class of 1671, a Sewall and a Mather, a Thacher and a Norton; nor that of the two Woodbridges, both sons of clergymen of note, but relegated to the foot of the class of 1701, unless they were late in entering. At Yale, where the conditions were in every way less complex, I know of not a single anomalous or inexplicable case, besides that of Joseph Noyes, already mentioned. In every comparison of results between the two institutions the marked difference of numbers should be borne in mind; taking even the most favorable period, the last fifty years of the system, the average class at Harvard was nearly fifty per cent. larger than the corresponding class at Yale.

But I may be asked, in view of these unintelligible cases in the earlier generations at Harvard, whether it is certain that the system as we have it later was actually in vogue there from the beginning. Such a question has been raised repeatedly, as by Mr. John Ward Dean in his *Memoir of the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth*¹ (Harvard, 1651), but I do not see how the negative can be seriously maintained, with the facts already known. I believe that the archives at Harvard have not yet been thoroughly examined in order to trace the early references to the custom; but even if we had no direct evidence prior to the time of Samuel Melyen, about half a century from the founding of the college, it is, I hold, practically impossible to account for the system then

¹Pp. 83-85.

in use, except by a development of some such plan introduced by the founders themselves, and a result, as I have intimated, of their experience in England. As for the case of Wigglesworth, which has led Mr. Dean to doubt, the New Haven records give evidence enough of his father's standing as one of the most substantial citizens of the jurisdiction, to check any surprise at his ranking at the head of a college class.

Of the working and the incidental results of the system, we catch an interesting glimpse in the letters of Judge Paine Wingate of the Harvard class of 1759, written in his ninety-second year, and quoted in Peirce's *History of the University*.¹ In referring to the "excitement—generally called up whenever a class in college was *placed*," he says:—

"The parents were not wholly free from influence; but the scholars were often enraged beyond bounds for their disappointment in their place, and it was some time before a class could be settled down to an acquiescence in their allotment. The highest and the lowest in the class was often ascertained more easily (though not without some difficulty) than the intermediate members of the class; where there was room for uncertainty whose claim was best, and where partiality no doubt was sometimes indulged. But I must add," writes Judge Wingate, "that although the honor of a *place* in the class was chiefly ideal, yet there were some substantial advantages. The higher part of the class had generally the most influential friends, and they commonly had the best chambers in college assigned to them. They had also a right to help themselves first at table in Commons, and I believe generally whenever there was occasional precedence allowed, it was very freely yielded to the higher of the class by those who were below." Judge Wingate could speak from experience, his own rank being eighth in a class of thirty-eight. He writes again:—
"The freshman class was, in my day at college, usually

¹Pp. 308-11.

placed (as it was termed) within six or nine months after their admission. . . . As soon as the freshmen were apprized of their places, each one took his station according to the new arrangement at recitation, and at Commons, and in the Chapel, and on all other occasions."

Of other college customs, allied to this, the most important were those connected with the maintenance of a system of carefully graded precedence in the college world as a whole; this included, on the one hand, a much more formal behavior of pupils towards teachers than later generations would have relished, and on the other hand a fine development of the institution of fagging. The early Faculty Records of both colleges bear ample witness to these facts. Thus, on almost the first page of the Yale Records, we read on January 9, 1752, "Whereas it appears that Babcock *tertius* [a Freshman] has lately been guilty of Disrespect and Contempt of the Sophimores, and being absent from his Chamber two afternoons successively, with some aggravating Circumstances, 'tis therefore declared that the said Babcock for the Crimes aforesaid, be publicly admonished." Again, on January 18, ["Whereas last Tuesday evening, Cary [a Freshman, afterwards a student of theology and a physician], being called before the Sophimores, went out of the Room in Contempt of them, and said these Words, 'I swan I will not stay here any longer,' which is contrary to the Laws of God and this College, it is therefore considered by the President, with the advice of the Tutors, that the said Cary shall be suspended from all the Privileges of this College."]

Already, by the time the rule of arrangement by rank was given up, we have evidence that there had begun to be some relaxation of the traditions of undergraduate subordination,¹ and these gradually faded away by the end of the century.

¹ *Hours at Home*, x., 331-333.

What special combination of circumstances led to the abandonment at Yale, for all the undergraduates, in the latter part of the year 1767, of the system of social rank in the class-lists, no record remains to show. In the lack of testimony it may be of interest to quote a brief paragraph from a letter of a junior, David Avery, writing on December 17, 1767, to his old instructor, the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, as follows :

“There appears to be a laudable ambition to excel in knowledge. It is not he that has got the finest coat or largest ruffles that is esteemed here at present. And as the class henceforward are to be placed alphabetically, the students may expect marks of distinction to be put upon the best scholars and speakers.”¹

We know, of course, that President Clap retired in September, 1766, from the office which he had held for more than a quarter of a century, and that Dr. Daggett, the Professor of Divinity, a much younger man, not yet forty years old, was entrusted for the time being with the duties of the Presidency. We know, too, that Professor Daggett's gifts were not in the line of strict discipline, and that he cared comparatively little for the minutiae of ceremony and the dignity of office ; and it was probably for him personally a welcome step, to discard the elaborate and perplexing system of class-arrangement. We know, moreover,² that the practical management of the college at that time was almost wholly left to the three Tutors—the senior Tutor, Ebenezer Baldwin, twenty-two years of age, with Stephen Mix Mitchell, aged twenty-four, and Job Lane, aged twenty-six—all men of exceptional ability and hospitable therefore to new ideas and responsive to new influences. From this point the modern era begins. A citation just made from the letter of an undergraduate shows how, in connection with the abandonment of these antiquated and now artificial

¹ Hours at Home, x., 333.

² Sprague, Annals of the Amer. Pulpit, i., 637.

class-distinctions, a new emphasis was placed on that which the college really stood for, scholarship and literary training, and by this means the way was cleared for a new and richer future.

And to such a change the rising sentiment of the colonies just then distinctly lent itself. The preceding year had seen the collapse of the attempt to enforce a Stamp Act in America; and the wide-spread indignation against a tax on tea, to take effect on November 1, 1767, was just lifting the curtain on a new scene of approaching rebellion and independence, with which the college and its special friends were mainly in unmistakable sympathy.

The corresponding change at Harvard was effected about two and a half years later, and the accompanying circumstances can be somewhat fully traced. In August, 1769, the College Faculty (then consisting of four Tutors—the Presidency being vacant,) had before them a complaint against the order of arrangement which had been adopted for the class then Sophomores, and on a review of the facts were obliged to revise their former action. The case was that of Samuel Phillips,¹ best known to posterity as the munificent founder of Phillips Academy, Andover, and the point made was that his father had been commissioned as Justice of the Peace and as Justice of the Quorum at earlier dates than the father of Daniel Murray, who was placed next higher, or in the words of the record, “at the head of the sons of Justices.” The matter seems to have brought to a crisis the long-felt dissatisfaction with the system, and to have been the occasion of a report to the Overseers, on May 1, 1770, about six weeks after President Locke’s inauguration, from the committee of that body appointed to make inquiry into the state of the college, etc., to the effect “that the inconveniences attending the method hitherto practiced of placing the Individuals in each class of the

¹ Quincy, *Hist. of Harvard Univ.*, ii., 157, 158; *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, ix., 253, 254; Taylor, *Memoir of Judge Phillips*, 21, 347, 348.

Freshmen according to the supposed Dignity of the Families whereto they severally belong, appear to the Committee to be so great that they have unanimously agreed to report as their opinion that such practice be laid aside, and that for the future the names of the Scholars in each class be placed in alphabetical order." This recommendation was at once consented to, and went into operation without—so far as the records show—being referred to the Corporation for their approval. In putting the vote into effect the class then Freshman, and waiting to be placed, was arranged alphabetically; but the upper classes, which had already been placed by the old system, were retained in that order. On the Catalogue of Graduates, therefore, the alphabetical order does not appear until the class of 1773; while the Yale Catalogue, on the other hand, though proceeding on a vote of only two and a half years earlier, begins its alphabetical arrangement with the class of 1768, which was in its Senior year when the change was adopted here. The new order of things took effect in print first at Yale with the Triennial Catalogue, published in 1769, and at Harvard with the similar publication in 1773.

In this review of the abolition of the custom at Harvard reference should also be made to the fact that from eight to ten years earlier a determined effort had been made in Western Massachusetts to secure the establishment of a new college,¹ at Northampton, Hatfield, or Hadley; and it was understood² that the leader in that movement, Colonel Israel Williams (Harvard, 1727), had been largely prompted by chagrin at the low rank accorded to his eldest son in the Harvard class of 1751 (fourteenth in a class of thirty-five, while his father had been tenth in a class of thirty-seven). The project of a college in Hampshire County had been quashed, but the annoyances and risks continually arising

¹ Quincy, *Hist. of Harvard Univ.*, II., 105.

² *Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings*, xx., 47.

in connection with the administration of the ranking system were growing all the time more formidable.

By the 1st of May, 1770, also, the new American spirit was much more buoyant and defiant than in December, 1767, when Yale had led the way in breaking down the bars of aristocratic precedence. Committees of Correspondence between the different colonies had organized public opinion, and most recently of all the Boston Massacre had tended to knit the community together as one against arbitrary power. It was a good time for any step in the way of abandonment of superior privileges and dignities, the prerogatives of rank and station.

The old custom, however, died hard; and it may be a surprise to the present generation to learn that, nominally at any rate, degradation continued to be a recognized penalty in the college for at least half a century longer. The Records of the Faculty (or the Immediate Government, as the phrase then was) contain abundant evidence for some years later than 1770 that, notwithstanding the classification by social rank had been abandoned in the catalogues, it was still found convenient to keep up some system of placing the students otherwise than alphabetically, and punishing by alterations in this order. A sample of a number of such penalties is a vote of October 11, 1782,¹ by which Rowe is degraded to the bottom of his class, and is to "take his place accordingly in the Chappel and meeting house and on all occasions when the class appears before the governors of the college." Still later, in October, 1789, Joseph Dennie, whose brief literary career was so felicitously described by the Rev. Dr. Peabody in the Council Report of four years ago, was degraded ten places. I am not aware of any similar entries after this, but the various editions of the College Laws continue to enumerate degradation as one of the established penalties down to and

¹ An earlier instance is quoted in Hall's *Collection of College Words and Customs*, s. v. *Degradation*, p. 94.

including the issue of 1820; the next issue, that of 1825, omits the familiar phrase, and we are at liberty to surmise that in the latter part of the time when the name was thus continued in the Laws, the penalty was a dead letter, unless in the form of degradation to a lower class.¹ There was nothing at Yale corresponding to this so-to-speak *post-mortem* existence of a discarded system.

I have failed entirely to trace the adoption of the custom by any other of the American colleges. Of those in New England, the next in age is Brown University, but no students were entered there until 1765, and none were graduated until 1769; by which time it was out of the question for a new institution to adopt a custom so nearly worn out. Still less could it have taken root at Dartmouth College, which began in 1770, or in any of the later growths of this region.

In the Middle Colonies, the College of New Jersey began in 1747, and Columbia in 1754, while the University of Pennsylvania was first chartered as a college in 1753; but so far as I can learn, none of these at any time followed the rule of arrangement by family rank. The same is true of the College of William and Mary, of whose development in the ante-revolutionary period even fewer memorials remain.

Of customs of similar import outside, it may be sufficient to instance the New-England and more lastingly the Connecticut habit of dignifying the meeting-house. This annual allotment of seats for Congregational worship was, as we all know, the work of a committee appointed from time to time for the purpose, who were supposed to be guided in their decisions mainly by regard to family descent, wealth, social standing, age, and general usefulness to the community,—or as the Glastonbury (Connecticut) record puts it, “age, state, and parentage.”² In Waterbury, Connecticut, in 1719, for the purpose of this allotment one year

¹ I am indebted to Mr. W. H. Tillinghast, of the Harvard Library, for calling my attention to this survival.

² Chapin, *Glastonbury Centennial*, 79.

in age was ordered to count as the equivalent of £4 on the tax-list,¹ that is, a man one year younger but paying £4 more of taxes than another, would be entitled to an equally good seat; while later in the century, in the adjoining township of Southington, £15 was required to balance an additional year of age, and after 1800 even as high as £80.² Military titles were also in some places a ground of special dignity.

This quaint relic of unrepublican distinctions disappeared in most localities before the present century, lingering awhile later in a few specially secluded or conservative congregations, as in East Hartford, Connecticut, until 1824,³ and latest of all in the remote parish of Norfolk, Connecticut, where it was retained—more as a form than as a reality—until so recent a date as 1875.⁴ To those who know that picturesque village, rarely favored by nature, and now made doubly attractive by the good taste and unremitting care of those who love it, there is an added charm in identifying it as the last refuge of the latest surviving usage in evidence of the special deference paid to social rank in the earlier generations of New England.

¹ Bronson, *Hist. of Waterbury*, 223.

² Timlow, *Sketches of Southington*, 182.

³ Goodwin, *East Hartford*, 182.

⁴ Bassett and Beach, *Centennial Discourses*, 54.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1893.

The question in regard to the right of the Society to the ownership of personal property which was alluded to at the last meeting of the Society, has been referred to a special committee.

The Librarian's and General Fund again shows a decrease notwithstanding a portion of the sum paid for salaries has been charged to other funds. It is to be regretted that this Fund cannot be increased so that the income would take care of ordinary expenses.

The Lincoln Legacy Fund, by the accumulation of income now exceeds \$3,600, the original amount having been but \$1,000. This increase has thus far been of no direct benefit to the objects of the Society, except as it has augmented the total of the funds, and it would seem that the time had come to derive more practical benefit from it, either by the use of the income for the special purpose named by the founder, or by a modification of the provisions of the legacy.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

Owing to the financial condition of the country we have suffered, in common with other institutions, from the depreciation of the market value of our securities, but it is gratifying to note that the income for the last six months shows an increase over that of the previous half-year.

The present market value of our securities is \$7,000.00 over the amount they are carried on our books.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$1,009.86.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1893, was \$117,292.22. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,035.38
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,828.14
The Bookbinding Fund,	6,309.25
The Publishing Fund,.....	24,372.64
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	7,512.92
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,.....	3,609.65
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,038.24
The Salisbury Building Fund,.....	5,088.42
The Alden Fund,.....	1,156.84
The Tenney Fund,.....	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,.....	1,107.74
The George Chandler Fund,.....	549.89
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,.....	2,516.92
Premium Account,	156.33
Income Account,.....	1,009.86
	<hr/>
	\$117,292.22

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$6,443.95, the larger part of which it is expected will soon be invested in a real estate mortgage.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending October 1, 1893, is as follows :

<i>DR.</i>		
1893. April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,	\$4,715.64
" Oct 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	3,239.31
" "	Received for annual assessments,	210.00
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	120.15
" "	Mortgage notes paid,	5,000.00
" "	Premium on bonds sold or exchanged,....	300.00
		<hr/>
		\$13,585.10
<i>CR.</i>		
	By salaries to October 1, 1893,	\$1,848.34
	Expense on account of publication,	305.77
	Books purchased,	280.70
	For binding,.....	420.70
	Incidental expenses, including heating,	486.48
	For Insurance,	110.00
	Investments,	3,600.00
	Interest on Bonds bought,.....	89.16
		<hr/>
		\$7,141.15
	Balance in cash October 1, 1893,.....	6,443.95
		<hr/>
		\$13,585.10

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1898,	\$39,333.53	
Income to October 1, 1898,	1,180.01	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,	150.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$40,663.54	
Paid for salaries,	\$1,118.89	
Incidental expenses, including coal,	399.27	
For Insurance,	110.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,628.16	
1898, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$39,035.38

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1898,	\$18,950.62	
Income to October 1, 1898,	651.62	
	<hr/>	
	\$19,602.24	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals, ..	774.10	
	<hr/>	
1898, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$18,828.14

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1898,	\$6,566.30	
Income to October 1, 1898,	196.98	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,763.28	
Paid for binding, etc.,	454.03	
	<hr/>	
1898, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$6,309.25

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1898,	\$23,929.48	
Income to October 1, 1898,	717.88	
Publications sold,	81.05	
	<hr/>	
	\$24,678.41	
Paid on account of printing "Proceedings,"	805.77	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$24,872.64

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1898,	\$7,347.40	
Income to October 1, 1898,	220.42	
	<hr/>	
	\$7,567.82	
Paid for books,	54.90	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$7,512.92

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1898,	\$3,504.52	
Income to October 1, 1898,	105.13	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1898,		\$3,609.65

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1893,	\$1,062.75	
Income to October 1, 1893,	31.87	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,094.62	
Paid for books,	56.38	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1893,		\$1,038.24

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1893,	\$4,940.22	
Income to October 1, 1893,	148.20	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1893,		\$5,088.42

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1893,	\$1,187.87	
Income to October 1, 1893,	35.64	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,223.51	
Paid on account of cataloguing,	66.67	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1893,		\$1,156.84

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1893,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1893,	150.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,150.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	150.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1893,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1893,	\$1,144.47	
Income to October 1, 1893,	34.35	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,178.82	
Paid for books,	71.08	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1893,		\$1,107.74

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1893,	\$556.43	
Income to October 1, 1893,	16.69	
Chandler Genealogy sold,	6.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$579.12	
Paid for books,	29.23	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1893,		\$549.89

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance April 1, 1893,.....	\$2,454.94
Income to October 1, 1893,	78.66
	<u>\$2,533.60</u>
Paid for books,.....	11.67
Balance October 1, 1893,	<u>\$2,516.92</u>
Total of the thirteen funds,.....	\$116,126.03
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,	156.33
Balance to the credit of Income Account,.....	1,009.86
October 1, 1893, total,	<u>\$117,292.22</u>

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,.....	\$ 600.00	\$ 888.00
23	City National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,200.00	3,284.00
10	Citizens National Bank Worcester,.....	1,000.00	1,346.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	373.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,.....	500.00	475.00
2	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,808.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,.....	600.00	680.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,	500.00	550.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,.....	2,400.00	2,904.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	5,796.00
33	Webster National Bank Boston,.....	3,800.00	3,036.00
31	Worcester National Bank,	3,100.00	4,588.00
	Total of Bank Stock,.....	<u>\$23,000.00</u>	<u>\$28,522.00</u>
80	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,.....	\$3,000.00	\$4,200.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,.....	500.00	790.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.).....	1,250.00	1,950.00
	BONDS.		
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,.....	5,000.00	5,200.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,.....	3,300.00	3,630.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,.....	3,000.00	2,500.00
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.....	5,000.00	5,000.00
	City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago.....	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,.....	5,400.00	5,520.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,.....	52,050.00	52,050.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	348.27	348.27
	Cash in National Bank on interest.....	6,443.95	6,443.95
		<u>\$117,292.22</u>	<u>\$125,154.22</u>

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1893.

Respectfully submitted,

NATHL PAINE,

Treasurer.

•1893.]

Report of the Treasurer.

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The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1893, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 17, 1893.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

I TAKE this first opportunity to thank Vice-President Hoar for his appeal in behalf of the Collection and Research Fund and to call the special attention of all members to pages 292 and 293 of our April Proceedings, where it may be found. It has seemed wise during the period of business depression to carefully husband our book-buying resources, and it would perhaps be unwise at present to attempt their much needed increase. Dr. Charles Deane, the wise Councillor as well as "Master among students of American history,"—said to your librarian upon his promotion ten years ago: "Ask for what you need, but be thankful for what you have."

The timely words of our associates, Hon. Samuel A. Green and Mr. Nathaniel Paine, upon so-called fac-similes of newspapers, proclamations and kindred works, have excited considerable attention. It is a fair question whether the reproduction of such interesting material should be allowed without restriction. Recent comparisons show that an occasional addition or subtraction has been made, to render more marketable the article offered. In one case, for instance, in a newspaper announcing the death of Washington, room was secured for the portrait of the Father of his Country by omitting a portion of the tribute therein paid to his memory. Again: Southern newspapers of the War of the Rebellion period, then printed from necessity on wall paper, may now be found reproduced on paper of similar patterns but of this year's manufacture. While there may be no present intent to defraud, there are no suggestions thereon that they are fac-similes, and deception is quite sure to follow with the lapse of years.

The edition of our Proceedings has been increased from five hundred to five hundred and fifty copies that foreign as well as domestic members may receive them. The first issue under this order of the Council was of the April number recently distributed, which happily contains valuable papers by two of our foreign associates. This is another step in the right direction, as is also the effort to strengthen our friendly relations with learned societies, foreign and domestic.

The death of Dr. George Chandler, for thirty-six years a member of this Society, and the giver of a fund for procuring works on genealogy and kindred subjects, should not pass unnoticed by your librarian. He had spent literally years in our treasure-house, into which he seldom came empty-handed. His aid and comfort to the genealogical novice as well as expert were suggested—in his absence—in my report of April, 1884. Longfellow's couplet may well be applied to him :

“ And all men loved him for his modest grace
And comeliness of figure and of face.”

In a conference with the librarian, preceding his letter of gift—which was dated January 28, 1884,—he expressed a desire that in his life-time family connections should be allowed to purchase his “Chandler Family” at cost of printing and binding. Thus while lovingly dedicating his great work “*Ad Mortem Fidelis*” he provided that it should not be excluded on account of its expense, from some of the humbler homes of the faithful living. With the approval of the Executors of his estate and of the Library Committee, the charge for the remaining copies has been advanced to ten dollars each.

We should have a special interest in the honorable part taken by members of this Society at the recent Congresses of Historians and Librarians held at Chicago. In the former it was a pleasure to find William F. Poole, LL.D., Chairman of the Committee of Arrangements. James B.

Angell, LL.D., President of the Congress, read a paper upon "The Inadequate Recognition of Diplomats by Historians"; Moses Coit Tyler, LL.D., wrote upon "The Time Element in American History"; Hon. James P. Baxter presented "The Present Status of Pre-Columbian Discovery"; Rev. George P. Fisher, D.D., a consideration of "The Social Compact, and Mr. Jefferson's Adoption of it"; Mr. Reuben G. Thwaites read his account of "Lead Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin"; Hon. William Wirt Henry addressed the Congress upon "The First Legislative Assembly in America"; and J. Franklin Jameson, Ph.D., presented "The Origin of the Standing Committee System in American Legislative Bodies." In the Congress of Librarians Mr. Samuel S. Green made a broad and earnest plea for State Library Commissions. It may be well to add as a matter of record that by vote of the Council Henry Charles Lea, LL.D., represented the Society at the recent Celebration of the One Hundred and Fiftieth Anniversary of the American Philosophical Society, upon which occasion papers were presented by our associates, Hon. Samuel A. Green upon "Benjamin Franklin, Printer, Patriot, Philosopher"; and Daniel C. Gilman, LL.D., upon "The Present Aspects of Science in America." Prof. Franklin B. Dexter was the Society's delegate at the recent service of dedication of the new building of the New Haven Colony Historical Society.

In my last report reference was made to Mr. Charles Toppan, an American engraver who was father of our associate, Mr. Robert N. Toppan. I will add that in *The Crayon*, volume I., page 116, will be found his short account of the development of bank-note engraving in the United States.

A thorough inspection of Antiquarian Hall has recently been made under the direction of the Chief Engineer of the Worcester Fire Department. A rough plan of the building inside and out has been made, on which have been noted our appliances for the extinguishing of fire, with

doorways, partitions, stairways, skylights, etc. Even the location of our chief treasures may be found thereon. It is gratifying to be able to report that the examiner expressed pleasure at the protective measures already adopted and suggested no others. As a safeguard against water our tin roof has been repainted and the bank upon the north side of the hall resodded.

The sources of gifts for six months ending the 15th instant, number three hundred and one, viz. : from forty-four members, one hundred and forty-six persons not members, and one hundred and eleven societies and institutions. The accessions from the above were nine hundred and forty-three books, sixty-one hundred and thirty-nine pamphlets, eight bound and one hundred and fifty unbound volumes of newspapers, fifty-seven photographs, four manuscript volumes with like material unbound, two paintings, one plate, one seal and one tile. We have received by exchange, twelve books, five hundred and seven pamphlets and twenty-six bound volumes of newspapers; and from the bindery, one hundred and seventy-nine volumes of newspapers and one hundred and forty-one volumes of magazines, making a total of ten hundred and ninety-six books, sixty-six hundred and forty-two pamphlets, two hundred and thirteen bound and one hundred and fifty unbound volumes of newspapers, etc.

I have attached to a gift from Vice-President Hon. George F. Hoar his explanatory letter, which contains the following : "This is a photograph of James Lloyd, a very eminent Boston merchant who was a Senator from Massachusetts for a good many years and a man of great influence and ability. It is from a painting in the possession of his descendant, Mr. William H. Aspinwall of New York."

A gift of marked interest and value has been received from Rev. George Sturgis Paine. It consists of sixteen large photographic views of the interior and exterior of the Paine mansion on Lincoln Street in Worcester, now

owned and occupied by him. It was for many years the home of William Paine, M.D., one of our founders, and of his son Mr. Frederick William Paine, both benefactors of this Society. But few of these early homes remain. They should be more carefully preserved as object lessons for the present generation and those of the near future. We point with pride to the well preserved Salisbury mansion in Worcester's Lincoln Square—the birthplace of a former President of this Society now owned by our President—and rejoice that the birthplace of our late Vice-President, Hon. George Bancroft, on Salisbury Street in Worcester, which has recently narrowly escaped either destruction or removal, is still to stand on its original site.

The closing sale of the American Library of the late Hon. George Brinley was mentioned in my last report, and the accessions therefrom were entered briefly in the printed list of Givers and Gifts. While the sale took place just before our Spring meeting, the books, pamphlets, etc., did not arrive until afterwards, hence this tardy reference thereto. Our allowance at the final sale was \$403.66, and the amount bid off \$469.02, with which three hundred and seventy-seven pieces were secured. Without making special reference to the rarities among them, they may be roughly classed as follows :

Witchcraft,	1	Indian languages,	7
Bibles and primers,	9	American Revolution,	31
Biography,	26	Learned societies,	32
Early text books,	28	Local history,	59
Miscellaneous,	175		

It may be well to state that with the \$5,000.00 allowance we secured the following :

	BOOKS.	PAMPHLETS.
First sale,	227	459
Second sale,	192	114
Third sale,	164	6
Fourth sale,	353	834
Fifth sale,	215	131
Total,	<u>1,151</u>	<u>1,544</u>

To these should be added many early broadsides, proclamations and newspapers of great interest and value. I note the dates of the five sales and of the references thereto in the Society's Proceedings. First, in New York, March 10-15, 1879, see library report of April, 1879; second, in New York, March 22-25, 1880, see report of April, 1880; third, in New York, April 4-8, 1881, see report of April, 1881; fourth, in New York, November 15-18, 1886, see report of April, 1887; fifth, in Boston, April 18-20, 1893, see reports of April and October, 1893. By a happy thought of the executors, a label with "Brinley Library" and the catalogue number thereon was placed in each important volume, thus perpetuating not only the name of the wise collector but also suggestions of his invaluable though now widely scattered collection. It is quite possible that such a sale of *Americana*, *i. e.*, with a gratuity attachment, may cause at least a temporary and artificial rise in the value of like material, but this need not seriously affect the measure of gratitude for the gifts thus received. The fact remains that we have secured for all time, rarities which would have been added to this great library of American history in no other way. I would add to this expression of gratitude to our former associate and to his heirs, my hearty assent to the concluding paragraph in the preface to the fifth and last catalogue:

"In reviewing this series of catalogues, now happily brought to a close, one cannot repress his regret that the collector of this most noteworthy of American libraries was not spared to complete it on lines on which he had laid it out and to enjoy its continued possession; nor on the other hand, can one adequately estimate the service rendered to the public and to the cause of American history by one who, like Mr. Brinley, rescues from destruction and oblivion the literary monuments and the unconsidered trifles of the infancy of our nation and puts them in the way of preservation and usefulness to all coming time."

A gift from the State Historical Society of Wisconsin

includes the revised and enlarged edition of our late associate Dr. Lyman C. Draper's "Autographic Collections." Reference is therein made to the collections of members of this Society, notably to those of Hon. Charles H. Bell, Mr. Charles P. Greenough, Dr. Charles J. Hoadly and Mr. Nathaniel Paine.

An English correspondent—Mr. Andrew W. Tuer, 50 Leadenhall Street, London—has forwarded an interesting representation of a horn-book with a statement that he is engaged on a work upon the subject and will be grateful for references to material and examples. He has thus far been unable to find in America a single example though confident they must have been used here.

A list of Congressional documents from the fifteenth to the fifty-first Congress, received from the author, Mr. John G. Ames, superintendent of documents, has been carefully checked from the volumes upon our shelves, a copy returned to Washington to indicate our needs, and a similar copy placed upon the librarian's table.

A letter from Mrs. Hamilton B. Staples to the librarian contains the following: "Miss Augusta Clinton Winthrop of Boston desires to present to the American Antiquarian Society a miniature of her great-grandfather Governor De Witt Clinton of New York. Miss Winthrop also presents an Erie Canal plate designed in honor of Governor Clinton and formerly belonging to him." The peculiar propriety of this gift will more clearly appear when we consider that Hon. De Witt Clinton was not only one of the earliest and most faithful members of this Society, but also one of its Vice-Presidents from 1821 until his death, February 11, 1828; and further that his successor in that office was the Honorable Thomas Lindall Winthrop who was also the great-grandfather of the giver of these valued relics.

An addition to our autograph collection by Mr. Samuel D. Barrett of Providence, Rhode Island, deserves more than a passing notice. The manuscript—which was rescued

by a member of his family from an ash barrel on a Boston sidewalk—is a partial pardon by Thomas Jefferson, President, attested under seal by James Madison, Secretary of State. As a fragment of history touching the disciplinary measures of our government in the early part of this century, it may be well to preserve a copy of it herein :

“THOMAS JEFFERSON, President of the United States of America.

“To all who shall see these presents,

Greeting :

“Whereas ——— Scrivener of the Town of Boston in the District of Massachusetts was convicted before the Circuit Court of the United States for the said District at its last June term, of certain misdemeanors in relation to the Post Office Establishment of the United States in that case made and provided and thereupon was adjudged by the said court at its next succeeding term to be publickly whipped twenty stripes and be imprisoned and kept at hard labor for the space of three years, pay costs of prosecution and stand committed till sentence be performed : Now therefore be it known that I THOMAS JEFFERSON President of the United States, do hereby for divers good causes, and considerations me thereto moving, pardon and remit the whipping aforesaid, the remaining part of the judgment aforesaid to be in no manner affected by this pardon and remission. In testimony whereof I have hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the United States to be affixed to these presents, the first day of March A. D. 1806 and in the Thirtieth year of the Independence of the said States.

[SEAL]

TH. JEFFERSON.

“By the President

“JAMES MADISON

“Secretary of State.”

This convention season is a reminder of a reference in Librarian Christopher C. Baldwin's manuscript diary, to the first Massachusetts Temperance Convention — of five hundred members — held in Worcester, September 19, 1833. He writes : “Altogether they composed a body of

great respectability—both as to virtue and intelligence. Plenty of ministers, lawyers and doctors among them. A satirical observer, however, if so inclined, might here and there pick out a red nose which would contradict the sincerity of the convert to the doctrine of abstemious drinking. Yet for all this I am greatly pleased with the efforts making to reform the besotting practices of drunkenness. I am not a member of a Temperance Society, contenting myself with the practice of virtue without extra preaching it to others. It is one of the faults of to-day to occupy so much of our time in recommending the practice of virtue that we have no time left us to perform it. We are nothing but hearers without being doers. So true is it that when mankind undertake a reformation they are always running into extremes." This pen picture of three-score years ago is not without interest.

Fifty years ago, *viz.* October 23, 1843, Hon. John Davis paid a well deserved tribute to William Lincoln, Esq., who had died October 5, 1843, aged forty-two years. Our senior member, the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, LL.D., is the only survivor of the membership of that year, and possibly listened to the address. Hon. Edward Everett was the President, with Hon. John Davis, LL.D., and Hon. Joseph Story, LL.D., Vice-Presidents; and the library numbered "about fourteen thousand volumes exclusive of several thousands deposited in the hall by others." It is also noteworthy that eighty years ago the Rev. William Jenks in an address to the members of the American Antiquarian Society, pronounced in King's Chapel, October 23, 1813, "Stated as the objects of the Society's work, first, Ancient Indian Nations of our Continent, second, Western Mounds of Earth, third, Early European Settlements, and fourth, Civil Antiquities." And in "An account of the American Antiquarian Society, incorporated October 24th, 1812. Published by order of the Society," which was written by its founder, Isaiah Thomas, and bears the same

imprint as the Jenks address, we find the following succinct and suggestive statement :

“Among the numerous societies formed in the United States for the promotion of literature, the useful and fine arts and other valuable purposes, it appeared that one more might be added which could also be truly beneficial not only to the present but particularly to future generations. A society not confined to local purposes, not intended for the particular advantage of any one State or section of the Union or for the benefit of a few individuals. One whose members may be found in every part of our Western Continent and its adjacent islands and who are citizens of all parts of this quarter of the world. The chief objects of the enquiries and researches of this society will be American Antiquities, natural, artificial and literary, not however excluding those of other countries. Each individual of the society, we persuade ourselves, will imbibe a belief that its reputation, in a great degree, depends on his individual efforts.”

The extent and constancy of these efforts are suggested upon the title-page of the Society's first publication—from which the above paragraphs are quoted—for there we read these lines from Ovid :

Primaque ab origine mundi
Ad mea perpetuum deducite tempora carmen.

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ALDRICH, HON. P. EMORY, Worcester—"The Antiquary," in continuation.
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Saint Andrew's Cross, in continuation; and eleven pamphlets.
- BELL, HON. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—One pamphlet; and notice of the death of Hon. John J. Bell.
- BELLOWS, JOHN, Gloucester, Eng.—His "Roman Wareham and the Claudian Invasion."
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—Byrd's Description of Dismal Swamp, edited by Mr. Brock; and Richmond newspapers, containing historical articles by him.
- BUTLER, JAMES D., LL.D., Madison, Wis.—His address at the Third Annual Banquet of the Trustees of the Missouri Botanical Garden.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—One book; twenty-nine pamphlets; and various circulars.
- CLARKE, ROBERT, Cincinnati, O.—Wallace's "History of Illinois and Louisiana under the French Rule"; and one pamphlet.
- DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His "Lady Mowlson Scholarship at Cambridge."
- DAVIS, HON. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Nine books; one hundred and fifty-six selected pamphlets; one autograph letter; and one seal.
- DAVIS, HON. HORACE, San Francisco, Cal.—A Circular relating to early California.
- DAVIS, HON. J. C. BANCROFT, Washington, D. C.—"The New Lawes of the Indies."
- DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—His "Bibliographies of the present officers of Yale University": his Obituary Record of Yale, 1892-93; and Bourne's "Seneca and the Discovery of America."
- DWIGHT, THEODORE F., Boston.—His report of 1893, as librarian of the Boston Public Library.
- EDES, HENRY H., Charlestown.—A tribute to Hon. John J. Bell.
- FOSTER, WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His report of 1892 as librarian of the Providence Public Library; and twelve dictionaries and text-books of early date.

- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., *Secretary*, Baltimore, Md.—Proceedings of the John F. Slater Fund Trustees, 1893.
- GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., New York.—Report of the Commissioners of Reservations at Niagara, 1891-92.
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Two of his brochures; seventeen books; four hundred and fifty pamphlets; two broadsides; one map; and "The American Journal of Numismatics," and "Spice Box," in continuation.
- GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His report of 1892 as librarian of the Worcester Free Public Library.
- GREENE, J. EVARTS, Worcester.—His "Poem written for the Golden Wedding of William M. and Mrs. Helen M. Evarts."
- HALL, Rev. EDWARD H., Cambridge.—His Farewell discourse at Cambridge, March 26, 1893; two hundred and thirty-eight books; and one hundred and eighty-one pamphlets.
- HILL, HAMILTON A., LL.D., Boston.—Ten volumes of the National Board of Trade Proceedings.
- HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—Two proclamations.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—Six of his own publications; sixty-seven books; twenty-two hundred and seventy-five pamphlets; three files of newspapers, in continuation; two photographs; one tile; and various manuscript notes, newspapers and circulars.
- JACKSON, JAMES, Paris, Fe.—His "Tableau de Diverses Vitesses Exprimé en Mètres par Seconde."
- JONES, Col. CHARLES C., Jr., Augusta, Ga.—His address before the Confederate Survivors Association, April 26, 1893.
- LEA, HENRY C., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his historical brochures.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D., Worcester.—His Memorial of Rev. William E. Merriman, D.D.; and thirty-one pamphlets.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S., Worcester.—Sixteen photographs of the Paine Mansion in Worcester, Mass.; four photographs of members of the family; and the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Eight books; four hundred and two pamphlets; thirty-four of his Columbus portraits; photograph of Levi Lincoln, Senior; two manuscript volumes relating to the Worcester County Horticultural Society; and six files of newspapers, in continuation.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Good Hope, Ill.—His "American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal," as issued.
- PERRY, Right Rev. WILLIAM STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—His "American Prayer-Book Revisions of 1785 and 1789;" and the "Iowa Churchman," as issued.

POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—“The Dial,” as issued.

ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, Providence, R. I.—Second report of the Record Commissioners.

SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—“A Souvenir of Massachusetts Legislators, 1893”; thirty-seven books; three hundred and eighty-six pamphlets; ten files of newspapers in continuation; and a collection of programmes.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His Report of 1893, as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society; and a cabinet photograph of himself.

SMUCKER, Hon. ISAAC, Newark, O.—Four Ohio pamphlets.

SMYTH, Rev. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—“The Next Meeting of the American Board, Worcester, October 10-13, 1893.”

STEBBINS, Rev. CALVIN, Worcester.—Transactions of the National Association for the Promotion of Social Science. 1857-59 and 1871-73.

WALKER, FRANCIS A., LL.D., Boston.—His Annual Report, 1893, as President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; and one pamphlet.

WHITNEY, WILLIAM D., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His “Biography of Hasbrouck Davis”; and “Forty Years’ Record of the Class of 1845, Williams College,” compiled by Dr. Whitney.

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—Harvard University Bulletin; and Bibliographical Contributions, as issued.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—His address before the Massachusetts Bible Society, March 20, 1893.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ABBOT, WILLIAM F., Worcester.—Sixteen college pamphlets.

AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICS COMPANY.—Numbers of its Journal.

ANDERSON, WILLIAM E., Milwaukee, Wis.—“The Columbian History of Education in Wisconsin.”

ARGONAUT PUBLISHING COMPANY, San Francisco, Cal.—Numbers of its Magazine.

ASHER AND COMPANY, Berlin, Germany.—Their “Columbian Exposition Exhibit.”

BAKER, GEORGE H., New York.—Brinton’s “Tribute to John Strong Newberry.”

BARDWELL, WILLIS A., Brooklyn, N.Y.—His report of 1893, as librarian of the Brooklyn Library.

BARRETT, SAMUEL D., Providence, R. I.—One framed manuscript pardon signed by President Jefferson and Secretary of State Madison; and four medals.

- BIGELOW, Mrs. LUCY B., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- BIRCH'S SONS, THOMAS, Philadelphia, Pa.—Two pamphlets.
- BLANCHARD, FRANK S., Worcester.—His "Tribute to the Columbian Year by the City of Worcester."
- BOSTON BOOK COMPANY.—Its "Green Bag," as issued.
- BOSTON JOURNAL ASSOCIATION.—Samples of its Journal.
- BRIGGS, Mrs. FREDERICK W., Worcester.—Manuscript volume of Elihu Burritt; and one pamphlet.
- BULLARD, Rev. HENRY, D.D., St. Joseph, Mo.—His "Address at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Westminster Church, St. Joseph."
- BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Ten pamphlets; the "Spirit of Missions," in continuation; and one heliotype.
- CARPENTER, Rev. CHARLES C., Andover.—His "Historical Sketch of the Essex South Association"; and one pamphlet.
- CARPENTER AND MOREHOUSE, Amherst.—Numbers of their "Record" to complete file.
- CENTURY COMPANY.—The "Century Magazine," as issued.
- CHAMBERLIN, HENRY H., Worcester.—His "George William Curtis and his Antecedents."
- CHASE, Miss SARAH E., Worcester.—Reprint of the "Ulster County Gazette" of Jan. 4, 1800.
- CHEEVER, Rev. HENRY T., D.D., Worcester.—His "Bible Eschatology"; and the "Hawalian Gazette," in continuation.
- CHURCH CHAT COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of its periodical.
- CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., West Acton.—"Woman's Journal"; and "The Voice" for 1892, in continuation.
- COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Boston Commonwealth," as issued.
- CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—His "Catholic School and Home Magazine," as issued.
- CORNWALLIS, KINAHAN, Boston.—Numbers of his "Investigator."
- COTGREAVE, ALFRED, London, Eng.—His "Indicators *versus* Card-Charging."
- CRANE, JOHN C., West Millbury.—His "Col. Thomas Gilbert, the Leader of New England Tories."
- CRUNDEN, FREDERICK M., St. Louis, Mo.—His "Free Public Library, its Use and Value."
- CURCHIN, ABRAHAM F., Melverne, Kans.—Five reprints and fac-similes of American newspapers.
- CURTIS, CHESTER B., New Castle, N. H.—His "Bi-Centennial Souvenir of New Castle, New Hampshire, 1693-1893."

- CURTIS, HON. GEORGE M., New York.—His “Some Views on Insanity.”
- CYR, Rev. NARCISSE, Springfield.—“Cruel Persecution of the Protestants in the Kingdom of France,” a reprint.
- DARLING, Gen. CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—Four of his own publications.
- DEADY, EDWARD N., Portland, Oregon.—“Tributes to Hon. Matthew P. Deady, LL.D.”
- DEANE, Mrs. MARY G., Boston.—Journal of the 14th Convention of the Department of Massachusetts Woman’s Relief Corps.
- DELANO, Mrs. M. C., and Miss CARTER, Cambridge.—Eleven books; one oil painting; two maps; and one engraved head.
- DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—Two periodicals, in continuation.
- DILLINGHAM, CHARLES T., New York.—“America a Name of Native Origin.”
- DODGE, JAMES H., Boston.—His report of 1893, as Auditor of the City of Boston.
- DOGGETT, SAMUEL B., Boston.—“A Slight Sketch of the Life of Caleb Davis Bradlee, D.D.”
- DOYLE, JAMES J., Worcester.—His “Messenger,” as issued.
- DREW, ALLIS AND COMPANY, Worcester.—Their Rochester Directory of 1892.
- DROWNE, HENRY T., New York.—Eighty-Seventh Annual Report of the New England Society in New York.
- DUNN, Mrs. WILLIAM T., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His “Report of 1892 as President of Yale University.”
- ELIOT, CHARLES, *Secretary*, Boston.—Second Report of the Trustees of Reservations, 1892.
- ESTES, Rev. DAVID F., Hamilton, N. Y.—Manuscript material relating to Holden, Massachusetts.
- FUNK AND WAGNALLS, New York.—Their “Voice,” as issued.
- GARABEDIAN, NISHAN, Worcester.—His “Garden of Eden Defiled.”
- GAZETTE COMPANY, Worcester.—The Worcester Daily and Weekly Gazette.
- GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—Two books; two hundred and seventy-five pamphlets; and various circulars and newspapers.
- GREEN, WILLIAM, New York.—Numbers of his “American Book-seller.”
- GREGSON, Rev. JOHN, Oxford.—“The Book of Mormon,” edition of 1841; and a Mormon ministerial certificate.

- GRIFFIN, MARTIN I. J., Philadelphia, Pa.—One pamphlet.
- HAZEN, REV. HENRY A., *Secretary*, Boston.—The “Congregational Year Book, 1893.”
- HEYWOOD, REV. WILLIAM S., Sterling.—His “History of Westminster, Massachusetts.”
- HILL, FRANK P., Newark, N. J.—His fourth report as librarian of the Newark Free Public Library.
- HITCHCOCK, EDWARD, M.D., Amherst.—His “Physical Statistics of Amherst College, 1893.”
- HOBBS, WILLIAM H., Ph.D., Madison, Wis.—One pamphlet.
- HODGE, F. W., Ph.D., Washington, D. C.—His “Prehistoric Irrigation in Arizona.”
- HORSFORD, Miss CORNELIA, Cambridge.—“Leif’s House in Vineland and Graves of the Northmen, by Dr. and Miss Horsford.”
- HORTON, NATHANIEL A. AND SON, Salem.—Their “Daily Gazette,” as issued.
- HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Their “Literary Bulletin,” as issued.
- HYDE, REV. WILLIAM DEW., D.D., Brunswick, Me.—His Report of 1893, as President of Bowdoin College.
- JONES, CHARLES E., Augusta, Ga.—His “In Memoriam Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D., 1831-1893.”
- KING, Col. HORATIO, Brooklyn, N. Y.—“Reunion of the Society of the Army of the Potomac, 1892.”
- KNOWLES, REV. EDWARD R., Worcester.—Selections from the Writings of Edward Randall Knowles, LL.D.
- KYES AND WOODBURY, Worcester.—Their Calendar, as issued.
- LARNED, J. N., Buffalo, N. Y.—His report of 1893, as librarian of the Buffalo Library.
- LINCOLN, ARTHUR, *Secretary*, Hingham.—“Thirtieth Anniversary of the Class of 1863, Harvard College.”
- LINCOLN, EDWARD W., Worcester.—His Report of 1893, as Secretary of the Worcester County Horticultural Society.
- LIPPINCOTT AND COMPANY, J. B., Philadelphia, Pa.—Their Bulletin, as issued.
- LOGAN, WALTER S., New York.—His “Siege of Cuautla, the Bunker Hill of Mexico.”
- LONGMANS, GREEN AND COMPANY, New York.—Their “Notes on New Books,” as issued.
- MARBLE, ALBERT P., Ph.D., Worcester.—His Critiques on Ednah Dean Proctor’s “Columbia’s Emblem,” and on her “Heroes.”

MARSH, ARTHUR R., Cambridge.—Bolles's "Student's Expenses at Harvard College."

MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—Newspapers containing historical articles by him.

NELSON, WILLIAM, Paterson, N. J.—His "American newspaper files, 1704-1800, and where they may be found."

NEW YORK EVENING POST COMPANY.—The "Nation," as issued.

OAKLAND ENQUIRER PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of the "Enquirer."

OLSCHKI, LEO S., Venice, Italy.—His Magazine, as issued.

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Open Court," as issued.

PARKER, Rev. EDWIN P., D.D., Hartford, Conn.—His "History of the Second Church of Christ in Hartford."

PARKER, Hon. HENRY L., Worcester.—Tributes to Phillips Brooks; and Lemuel A. Bishop, by Rev. Langdon C. Stewardson.

PARKER, THEODORE, Worcester.—His "Descendants of John Parker, Lexington, 1635-1893."

PEABODY REPORTER COMPANY.—The "Reporter," as issued.

PEÑAFIEL, ANTONIO, Mexico.—"Boletin Semestral de la Direccion General de Estadistica de la Republica Mexicana," Nos. 8, 9.

PEOPLES, WILLIAM T., New York.—His Report of 1893, as librarian of the New York Mercantile Library Association.

PITCHER AND ROGERS, Barre.—Their "Gazette," as issued.

POOLE, MURRAY E., Ithaca, N. Y.—His "History of Edward Poole of Weymouth, Mass., and his Descendants."

POOLE, REUBEN B., New York.—His Report of 1893, as librarian of the Y. M. C. A. of New York.

REDDING, GEORGE G., Boston.—Numbers of his "Financial World."

REED, Mrs. CHARLES G., Worcester.—Two books; and eighteen pamphlets.

RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY, Hartford, Conn.—The "Herald," as issued; and "Picturesque Chicago."

RICE, Hon. WILLIAM, Springfield.—His Report of 1893, as librarian of the City Library Association.

RICE, Mrs. WILLIAM W., Worcester.—One book; twenty-four pamphlets; "Harper's Weekly," 1862-67; and "Public Opinion," 1886-93.

RICH, MARSHALL N., *Secretary*, Portland, Me.—The "Portland Board of Trade Journal," as issued.

ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Eleven pamphlets; and three files of periodicals, in continuation.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—The "Amherst Record," in continuation.

RUGG, CHARLES F., Worcester.—Ten bound and thirty-four unbound volumes of Scribner and the Century; and seven bound volumes of other American magazines.

RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, Worcester.—His “Studies of Children at the State Normal School, Worcester,” etc.; and Massachusetts State Normal School Circular for 1893.

SABIN, JOSEPH F., New York.—Six numbers of his “Dictionary of Books relating to America”; and two pamphlets.

SARGENT, Mrs. JOSEPH, Worcester.—Thirty-two books; thirty-two pamphlets; the “Nation,” 1885-92; “Spectator,” 1889-90; and “Academy,” 1877.

SCOTT STAMP AND COIN COMPANY, New York.—Numbers of its “American Journal of Philately.”

SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY, Fitchburg.—The Sentinel, as issued.

SHAW, JOSEPH A., Worcester.—The Highland Military Academy Register of 1893.

SHOBER, WILLIAM B., Ph.D., South Bethlehem, Pa.—Numbers of the “University Review.”

SHOE AND LEATHER REPORTER, PUBLISHERS OF.—The “Reporter,” as issued.

SLAFTER, Rev. EDMUND F., D.D., Boston.—His report as Registrar of the Diocese of Massachusetts, 1893.

SMITH, JOHN G., Worcester.—Eight newspapers of early date.

SOUTHWICK, FREDERIC W., Worcester.—His Register of Official Masonic Visitations.

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY, Worcester.—The Daily and Weekly Spy, as issued.

STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—Four of his poems; three circulars; and numbers of the “Old South Record.”

STONE, Mrs. ELLEN A., East Lexington.—Two books; three pamphlets; and a parcel of early newspapers.

STONE, FREDERICK D., Philadelphia, Pa.—“Tribute to Horatio Gates Jones.”

TEUBNER, B. G., Leipsic, Germany.—His Magazine, as issued.

TRUMBLE, ALFRED, New York.—His “Collector,” as issued.

TUCKER, CHARLES D., Worcester.—One pamphlet.

TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—His “Groton Landmark,” as issued.

UHLER, P. R., Baltimore, Md.—His Report of 1893, as librarian of the Peabody Institute of Baltimore.

UPHAM, HENRY P., St. Paul, Minn.—“The Descendants of John Upham of Massachusetts.”

VERDUZCO, IGNACIO O., Morelia, Mexico.—His "Gazeta Oficial," as issued.

VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—"The Parish," as issued.

W P I EDITORS.—Their Magazine, as issued.

WADLEY, Miss MARY C., Augusta, Ga.—"In Memoriam Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D., 1831-93"; and two other tributes to Col. Jones.

WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—His Speech of August 23, 1893.

WALKER, WILLISTON, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His "Influence of the Mathers in New England Religious Development."

WATCHMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Vermont Watchman," as issued.

WATERHOUSE, SYLVESTER, St. Louis, Mo.—Seven of his brochures.

WEBB, W. SEWARD, New York.—"Correspondence and Journals of Samuel Blachley Webb," Volumes 1 and 2.

WESBY, JOSEPH S. AND SONS, Worcester.—Eight books; and the "Banker and Tradesman," 1886-91.

WHITCOMB, G. HENRY, Worcester.—Nine books; and two hundred and nine pamphlets.

WHITCOMB, Miss MARY G., Worcester.—Twenty-two pamphlets.

WHITE, Mrs. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—The "Journal of Zoöphily," as issued.

WINTHROP, Miss AUGUSTA CLINTON, Boston.—A framed miniature of Governor De Witt Clinton; and the Erie Canal plate made in his honor.

WITHERBY, RUGG AND RICHARDSON, Worcester.—The "Scientific American" for 1888 and 1889, in continuation.

WOODWARD, Mrs. RUFUS, Worcester.—One book; two hundred and eighty-two pamphlets; and the "Boston Journal of Chemistry," 1873-83.

WYMAN, CHARLES F., Cambridge.—The Columbian School Report of Cambridge, 1893.

YALE PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Yale Review," as issued.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Its publications, as issued.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Its Transactions, as issued.

ALBANY INSTITUTE.—Its Transactions, Vol. 12.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Its publications, as issued.

AMERICAN ANTI-VIVISECTION SOCIETY.—Its Tenth Annual Report.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—Its Magazine, as issued.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—Its Annual Reports, Nos. 37-40.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Its report for the year 1891.

AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY.—Its Proceedings, as issued.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued.

AMERICAN SEAMEN'S FRIEND SOCIETY.—Its "Sailor's Magazine," as issued.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—Numbers of "University Extension."

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Its publications, as issued.

BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—Its Annual Report; and "Statistics of Mortality," as issued.

BOSTON, CITY OF.—The City documents of 1892.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Bulletin, as issued.

BOSTON RECORD COMMISSIONERS.—Their Reports, as issued.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.—Its Proceedings, Jan. 10, 1893.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—Its Bulletin, as issued.

CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its Records, September, 1893.

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Twenty-first Annual Report.

CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Reports, 1893.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—Its publications, as issued.

CONNECTICUT ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Its Transactions, as issued.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued.

CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.—Six State documents.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.—Its "Library Bulletin," as issued.

DAVENPORT ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES.—Its Proceedings, as issued.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued; and thirty-six pamphlets.

DEDHAM, TOWN OF.—Dedham Records, Vol. 3.

DENVER PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its periodical, as issued.

ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY, Baltimore.—Its Finding Lists, as issued.

ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Its publications, as issued.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA.—Catalogue of section one.

GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Jackson's Address on American Loyalty.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—Its publications, as issued.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Its publications, as issued.

HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued.

JERSEY CITY FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its "Library Record," as issued ;
and Finding Lists.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Its publications, as issued.

KANSAS CITY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Its "Scientist," in continuation.

LADIES' COMMISSION ON SUNDAY-SCHOOL BOOKS.—Its report of 1893.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.—Its Register, 1892-93.

LENOX LIBRARY.—Three editions of the Columbus Letter of 1493 on the
discovery of America.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—Its publications, as issued.

MAINE GENERAL CONFERENCE AND MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—Its Minutes
of 1893.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Acts and Resolves of Massa-
chusetts, 1893.

MASSACHUSETTS GENERAL HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—Their Report for 1892.

**MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED
MASONS.**—Its proceedings, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.—Its publications, as
issued.

MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR THE FEEBLE-MINDED.—One pamphlet.

MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—Its "Medical Communications,"
as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—Its Annual Report, and
"Weekly Returns of Mortality."

MEXICO, REPUBLIC OF.—Peñafiel's "Estadística General de la Republica
Mexicana."

MINNESOTA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued ; and the
Legislative Manual of Minnesota, 1893.

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF FLORENCE.—Its publications, as
issued.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Its "Register," as
issued.

NEW ENGLAND METHODIST HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its Proceedings,
January, 1893.

NEW HAMPSHIRE, STATE OF.—"Gems of the Granite State."

NEW JERSEY STATE LIBRARY.—Annual Report of 1892.

NEWTON FREE LIBRARY.—One book ; and three hundred and eighty-six
pamphlets.

- NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—Its Transactions, as issued.
- PEABODY MUSEUM OF AMERICAN ARCHÆOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY.—Its publications, as issued.
- PERKINS INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND, TRUSTEES OF.—Their Sixty-first Annual Report.
- PRATT INSTITUTE, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Numbers of the "Institute Monthly."
- PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, London, G. B.—A Guide to the documents there preserved.
- REDWOOD LIBRARY AND ATHENÆUM, Providence, R. I.—Its 163d Annual Report.
- RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued.
- ROCHESTER ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Its publications, as issued.
- ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—Its "Journal," as issued.
- ROYAL SOCIETY OF CANADA.—Its Proceedings and Transactions for 1892.
- SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its "Bulletin," as issued.
- SAN FRANCISCO MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Its Report of 1893.
- SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Its publications, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—Its publications, as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—Its "Bulletin," as issued.
- SOCIÉTÉ NATIONALE DES ANTIQUAIRES DE FRANCE.—Its publications, as issued.
- SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF LONDON.—Its publications, as issued.
- SOCIETY OF THE COLUMBIA SONS OF THE REVOLUTION.—Its Year Book, Constitution and List of Members, 1893.
- SPRINGFIELD CITY LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Its "Library Bulletin," as issued.
- ST. LOUIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Its Annual Report, 1891-92.
- STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF IOWA.—Its "Historical Record," as issued; and Shambaugh's "Iowa City."
- STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Its publications, as issued; eight books; and eight bound volumes of newspapers.
- SUNSET CLUB, Chicago, Ill.—Its Year Book, 1891-92.
- TWENTIETH MAINE REGIMENT ASSOCIATION.—Its Roster for 1893.
- TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—Its "Record," as issued.
- UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—One pamphlet.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.—Two pamphlets.
- UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Two hundred and

twenty-two books; three pamphlets; and the "Patent Office Gazette," as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—The Consular Reports, as issued.

UNITED STATES TREASURY DEPARTMENT.—Two reports.

UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—"Official Records of the War of the Rebellion," as issued.

VERMONT STATE LIBRARY.—Thirteen books; and thirteen pamphlets relating to Vermont.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Its publications, as issued.

WENHAM, TOWN OF.—Town reports of 1893.

WESTCHESTER COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Ferguson's "Sir Edmund Andros."

WISCONSIN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARTS AND LETTERS.—Its publications, as issued.

WORCESTER AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY.—Its reports of 1820 and 1823.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—Its Annual Report; and "Mortality Statistics," as issued.

WORCESTER BOARD OF OVERSEERS OF THE POOR.—Its report for the year 1892.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—Twenty-one files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER COUNTY MUSICAL ASSOCIATION.—Its publications, as issued.

WORCESTER FIRE SOCIETY.—Three of their Centennial Circulars.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Eleven books; three hundred and ten pamphlets; and seventy-two files of newspapers.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—Three files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER SOCIETY OF ANTIQUITY.—Its publications, as issued.

WORCESTER WOMAN'S CLUB.—Its "Columbian Souvenir," or History of the Club, 1880-1893.

WORLD'S COLUMBIAN EXPOSITION COMMISSIONERS.—Their publications, as issued.

YALE UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—"Ter-Centenary of Congregationalism."

EDMUND BURKE: HIS SERVICES AS AGENT OF THE
PROVINCE OF NEW YORK.BY CALVIN STEBBINS.

TO SPEAK of Burke in his relation to America would be to write the history of a long parliamentary struggle and involve a discussion of the place that expediency and compromise ought to occupy in the field of practical politics. Yet a few words on the general subject may not be out of place as a background for the special theme.

At the passage of the Stamp Act (1765) Burke was in full strength of manhood. About the time of his election as agent of New York, he wrote: "My principles are all settled and arranged, and, indeed, at my time of life, and after so much reading and reflection, I should be ashamed to be caught at hesitation and doubt, when I ought to be in the midst of action, not as I have seen some to be, as Milton says, 'unpractised, unprepared, and still to seek.'"¹ He had already felt more deeply and thought more profoundly on the condition and welfare of the colonies and the empire than any other man of those times, with perhaps the exception of Adam Smith. His knowledge of the colonies, their history, institutions, industries and the character of the people, was wide and exact; indeed, it was commensurate with vast power of acquisition, a never-flagging industry, extraordinary insight and an intense love of the subject. This country seems early to have attracted his attention and fascinated his imagination. In 1754 he was thinking of making a home here, and in 1757, before he was admitted to the bar, in a letter to a friend he says:

¹ Burke's Correspondence, I., 806.

“And shortly, please God, to be in America.”¹ The same year appeared “An Account of the European Settlements in America”; and two years later he became the chronicler of contemporary events—told the story of Wolfe and the conquest of Canada—and left a remarkable record of the American struggle both in Parliament and on this side the sea on the pages of the Annual Register.

From the gallery of the House of Commons he heard as he watched the progress of events, such debate as there was on George Grenville’s proposition to tax America. His first speech in Parliament, Monday night, January 27, 1766—a brilliant and telling one that received the warm approbation of William Pitt—was in favor of admitting the papers of the first Congress of the Colonies held in New York the October before, over which Timothy Ruggles of Massachusetts presided; and from that time to the close of the struggle he made speeches on American questions literally by the hundred. On the pages of the Journals of the House of Lords are several protests of the minority—Rockingham Whigs—known to be by him, and many others that bear the unmistakable stamp of the same master hand and mind. Of the five great parliamentary speeches prepared for the press by himself, two were on America; and if we add to these the letter to the Sheriffs of Bristol (1777), we have in small space not only the ablest statement of the cause of the Colonies but a body of political wisdom and philosophy unequalled in our language.

“I think I know America,” said Burke; “if I do not, my ignorance is incurable, for I have spared no pains to understand it,—and I do most solemnly assure those of my constituents who put any sort of confidence in my industry and integrity, that everything that has been done there has arisen from a total misconception of the object.”² It was a generally recognized fact, both in the House of Commons

¹ Burke’s Correspondence, I., 32.

² Burke’s Works, II., 209.

and out, that Burke's interest in America was supreme. Lord North informs him in advance of measures he intends to bring in "as I apprehend you would not choose to be absent from the House of Commons when any material question is proposed respecting America."¹ Burke, referring to this opinion of himself, says: "I am charged with being an American. If warm affection toward those over whom I claim any share of authority be a crime, I am guilty of this charge."²

The principles upon which he acted are stated in the clearest language. From the first he had given a prophetic warning. "A revenue from America transmitted hither, do not delude yourselves, you never can receive it, no, not a shilling." Of metaphysical distinctions and abstract rights he declares, "I hate the very sound of them. The question with me is not whether you have a right to render your people miserable, but whether it is not your interest to make them happy."³ "Magnanimity in politics is not seldom the truest wisdom: And a great empire and little minds go ill together."⁴ "I do not know," he says in the presence of a hostile and angry house, "the method of drawing up an indictment against an whole people."⁵

Burke's name seems to have been for a number of years before the New York Assembly as a candidate for the Agency of that Province. President Colden of the Council, afterwards the Lieutenant Governor, wrote under date of November 11, 1760, to John Pownall, Secretary of the Lords of Trade, that "the Assembly is not well satisfied with their agent Mr. Charles," and tells him that his name has been mentioned in that connection and "would be glad to know his inclinations as to accepting the trouble."⁶ About four months afterwards—April 5, 1761—Colden writes again in answer to a letter from Pownall. He has

¹ Burke's Correspondence, II., 23.

² Burke's Works, II., 140.

³ Burke's Works, II., 136.

⁴ Burke's Works, II., 222.

⁵ Burke's Works, II., 181.

⁶ Colden Papers, I., 38.

changed his point of view entirely, and now writes: "I cannot do a greater favor to the Province than by inducing them to appoint a gentleman of Mr. Burke's great merit to be their agent, and some others think as I do." But he adds: "There is a difficulty, he is not so much as known by name to any person in this place or in what station he stands. But I hope the character you have given him and his being your friend will be sufficient to remove all difficulties."¹ On the 12th of August, 1761, he writes again, stating various reasons why he has not made greater progress in his negotiations with the members, and restates the difficulty about "the unknown man," but feels that the secretary's recommendation will have great weight.²

Here the matter seems to have rested for some years. It was found that Mr. Charles had some friends in the Assembly and was also popular at Court. Soon also it came out in the official correspondence that the King was very much opposed to their method of electing an agent, that he wished and urged that the Province should be represented by an Agent elected by the Governor, the Council and the Assembly, instead of as now by the popular branch alone. This change would virtually give the appointing power to the King himself.

On the 20th of December, 1769, Col. Philip Schuyler moved that "Edmund Burke may be appointed Agent for this Colony."³ The consideration of the motion was postponed three times and no record was made of the result.⁴ A year afterwards, on the 20th of December, 1770, the Speaker notified the Assembly of the death of Mr. Robert Charles, late Agent of the Colony, whereupon Edmund Burke, Esq., of London, was elected Agent.⁵ The compensation was fixed, as in the case of Mr. Charles, at £500

¹ Colden Papers, I., 80, 81.

² Colden Papers, I., 107.

³ Journals of New York Assembly, 10 Geo. III., 44.

⁴ Journals of New York Assembly, 10 Geo. III., 51-57.

⁵ Journals of New York Assembly, 11 Geo. III., 17.

a year.¹ It was voted annually, and in 1774 £140 was added for contingent expenses.² It was paid by the Speaker's order on the Treasurer. In fixing this sum, Burke could not have been consulted.

Of Burke's letters to the committees appointed to correspond with him, only three have been printed, and these are all that are known to exist in America. These pertain to events in the year 1774. It is very evident that he wrote to the committee often, not only in reply to their letters to him and on matters pertaining especially to the Province, but also in regard to all American interests.

The week after the hearing at the Cockpit, Saturday, January 9, 1774, upon the petition of Massachusetts Bay for the removal of Governor Hutchinson and Lieutenant Governor Oliver, where Mr. Bancroft rather vigorously says: "The King insults the great American Plebeian," Burke wrote to the committee giving a concise account of the arguments in the case—tells them that the ground of the petitioners was taken with skill, that it was attacked with no small ability, and then characterizes the spirit of the whole affair, but without, however, making any direct allusion to Wedderburne's personal attack upon Dr. Franklin, as he did in his account of the scene in letters to Lord Rockingham and Charles Lee.³

The Boston Port Bill received the sanction of the King, March 30. On the 6th of April, Burke writes to the committee and begins as though the destiny of an empire weighed upon his mind. "The subject is ample and serious," he says; and he gives an account of the tone and temper of the minister—rising gradually from languor and uncertainty to authority and decision—of the arguments on both sides, and adds: "The popular current both within

¹ Journals of New York Assembly, 11 Geo. III., 36.

² Journals of New York Assembly, 14 Geo. III., 91.

³ Von Schaack's Life, 464; Burke's Correspondence, I., 453; Lee Papers, I., 120.

doors and without at present sets strongly against America. There were not wanting some few persons in the House of Commons who expressed their disapprobation of the bill in the strongest and most explicit terms. They spoke more for the acquittal of their own honor and the discharge of their consciences than from any sort of hope of being of service to their cause." As an enemy of arbitrary power he did not forget to tell them that the petition of Mr. Bollan, Agent of the Council of Massachusetts Bay, to be heard on the bill, was denied on the ground that no agent could be authorized but by an act of the whole Provincial Legislature and adds the suggestive warning: "To what consequences this will lead, you gentlemen are to consider."¹

We have one more letter to the Committee of Correspondence. It is a long one, written on the 2d of August, 1774, from the quiet shades of Beaconsfield. The times were gloomy, but it is cheerful in its tone. The King had given his sanction on June 22, 1774, to what is known as the celebrated Quebec Bill. The bill was, with exception of the Catholic Emancipation clause, a retrograde movement, in open hostility to the spirit of English liberty. Burke, who opposed it in all its stages, contrived to introduce an amendment securing to his constituents in New York their territorial rights, and guarding them against the encroachments of arbitrary power in the future. The bill, Burke writes, had its origin in jealousy of the rapid growth of English Colonies and fear of what might be the result, and was an attempt to arrest their development by hedging them in by a system of government, altogether foreign to their ideas and "hostile to their English prejudices in favor of liberty." The bill also made it possible at any time to arrest their progress by leaving the boundary lines "constructive," so that a portion larger or smaller of their territory might be annexed to Canada, or from both the English and French Provinces a new one might be carved, according

¹ Von Schaack, 19-21.

to royal caprice; for he found that in the settlement of disputed boundaries, according to the English practice, the King's will was the last tribunal.¹

While the bill was in committee and after the report, Burke worried the Minister and the House by his persistency. Indeed, he carried his opposition beyond his own powers of endurance and was obliged to say: "I declare myself incapable of arguing the question. I have neither strength of body nor energy of mind to proceed at this late hour."² Rather than allow him to call John Pownall, Esq.,—under Secretary of the Colonies, of whom Burke said "no man is more able and no man more willing to give you the information you need"—Lord North allowed an amendment to be brought in.³ The committee of which Burke was chairman withdrew, leaving the House to amuse themselves as best they might, and after a time they reported an amendment on the boundary clause, the work of the chairman, which passed.

The contest had been so obstinate and persistent that the King, whose personal influence urged the bill through, wrote to Lord North at 50 minutes past 10 A. M., June 11: "I had thought that the opposers to it would not have been so absurd as to have debated it on the report, but I cannot think on the third reading that they can possibly give further trouble."⁴ But the chief opposer, Edmund Burke, has gained what he calls "a tolerable bargain," and tells his constituents, "Those who were present congratulated me as on a great advantage." Before closing, Burke acknowledges an apparently complimentary letter from the committee and answers a question: "You undoubtedly may dispose of my letters as you judge proper. I must in this respect confide entirely in your prudence, being fully satisfied that the matter will always direct you sufficiently

¹ N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, 2d Series, II., 217, 218.

² Cavendish, *Debates on the Canada Bill*, 290.

³ Cavendish, 188.

⁴ George III.'s *Letters to Lord North*, I., 190.

in what you ought to conceal, and what to divulge.”

Of these letters we know nothing except in a few cases the dates. On the journals of the New York Assembly, between January 8, 1772, and March 11, 1775, are quite a number of entries stating that the Committee of Correspondence laid before the House a letter or several letters from Edmund Burke, the Agent of the Province. It is recorded that these letters were read and, together with copies of those written to him, were ordered to be laid on the table for the perusal of members.¹ It is evident that this correspondence was quite voluminous and would be a valuable contribution to both American and English history as well as to the biography of that distinguished man.

The last important act of the New York Assembly was to make an effort in the line of conciliation. This was done as an individual Colony, wholly independent of the other Colonies and without regard to the Continental Congress. For weeks the members were engaged in preparing a series of papers that were to embody the conservative sentiments of the Assembly and the people of the Province. At last, on the 30th of March, 1775, it was ordered that the petition to the King's most Excellent Majesty, the memorial to the Lords spiritual and temporal and the representation and remonstrance to the Commons of Great Britain be transmitted to Edmund Burke with a letter approved by this House with directions that he present the same as soon after the receipt thereof as possible. Burke committed the petition to Lord Dartmouth, who presented it to the King. It was a piece of such unblushing flunkysm that it warmed the royal heart toward the Assembly. Col. Schuyler had moved an amendment to almost every paragraph, but could in no way persuade the members to petition with the dignity of freemen.² The memorial to the

¹ Journals of N. Y. Assembly, 12 Geo. III., 5; 64. 13 Geo. III., 6. 14 Geo. III., 7; 87. 15 Geo. III., 5; 69.

² Lossing's Schuyler, I., §294.

Lords was presented by the Duke of Richmond. It had a different tone, and after considerable ingenious and some ludicrous quibbling was rejected.

On the 15th of May, 1775, Burke presented the Representation and Remonstrance to the Commons. Although he was very ill that night, he spoke at some length. He said he had a paper of great importance from the Province of New York, a province which yielded to none in his Majesty's dominions in zeal for the prosperity and unity of the Empire, and which had ever contributed as much as any in its proportion to the defence and wealth of the whole; that it was a complaint in the form of a remonstrance of several acts of Parliament, some of which made regulations subversive of the right of English subjects; that he did not know whether the House would approve of every opinion contained in that paper; but as nothing could be more decent and respectful than the whole tenor and language of the remonstrance, a mere mistake in opinion, upon any one point, ought not to prevent their receiving it and granting redress on such other matters as might be really grievous, and which were not necessarily connected with the erroneous opinion. He strongly urged that they never had before them so fair an opportunity of putting an end to the unhappy disputes with the Colonies as at present; and he conjured them, in the most earnest manner, not to let it escape, as possibly the like might never again return. He then moved that the remonstrance be brought in. The minister, Lord North, with that consummate tact which never deserted him—and this time he must have struck in a vulnerable place—moved an amendment, which was an effectual negative upon the motion, that said Assembly claimed to themselves rights derogatory and inconsistent with the legislative authority of Parliament as declared by an act of the 6th of his present Majesty entitled, etc. It was the Declaratory Act turned against its author. The amendment was carried by a majority of 186 to 67.

That night, at thirty minutes past ten o'clock, George III. wrote to Lord North: "The great majority in favour of the amendment this day shows how firm the House of Commons are in the support of the just rights of their country."¹

Burke undoubtedly wrote to his constituents an account of this interesting affair, in which he was ably supported by his colleague from Bristol, Mr. Henry Cruger, an American by birth, and by Charles James Fox. But few if any beyond the committee ever saw it. New York had no further use for the Assembly, as the majority did not represent the opinion of the Province. Yet about five months after its last adjournment we find Burke still regarding himself as its Agent. Richard Penn arrived in London on the 14th of August with the petition to the King from the second Continental Congress. Burke was named among others relied upon to present it. But in a letter to Arthur Lee (Aug. 22, 1775) in reply to one notifying him of the fact and also of the time and place of meeting, he writes the next day declining to be present or take any part. While he expressed the most cordial sympathy with the movement, he says: "I have been chosen Agent by the General Assembly of New York. That Assembly has actually refused to send deputies to the Congress; so that, if I were to present a petition, in the character of their Agent, I should act, not only without but contrary to the authority of my constituents; and while I act for them, it is impossible for me, in any transaction with the boards or ministers, to divest myself occasionally of that character. This, and this only, is my reason for not waiting upon you."² Mr. William Baker, M. P., urged him, in a long letter that warmed into a remonstrance, to be present, but all to no effect.

Among the things that required the constant attention of the Agent for New York was the long standing and angry

¹ Parliamentary Hist., XVIII., 643-650; Annual Register, 1775, 115; George III.'s Letters to Lord North, I., 247.

² Burke's Correspondence, II., 43.

feud about the "New Hampshire Grants." The New York settlers in the territory now called Vermont were very much opposed to being "Chastised with the twigs of the Wilderness." Burke, in a letter already quoted, written April 6, 1774, proposed a method of amicable settlement. "I had some conversation a few days ago with Mr. Pownall, on the subject of the New Hampshire settlers: he is of opinion that nothing can tend to the speedy and happy adjustment of the troublesome matter so much as to settle it by a commission composed of impartial persons nominated by Act of Assembly, among which he thinks it would be proper to have some of the most eminent of the judges and crown lawyers; and that if an act for that purpose were framed agreeably to the general instructions, it would receive countenance here."¹

Burke, owing primarily to his moral enthusiasm, was always a shining mark for the ridicule and hatred of men less nobly endowed. Small place-men, unctuous priests to whose hands gold would stick, self-seekers of every description, an aristocracy whose ignorance could only be measured by their love of pleasure and moral worthlessness, pursued him with a scornful malignity which has hardly been paralleled in English history from Cromwell to Gladstone. Yet, with all his power to strike hard blows and heap ridicule upon measures he opposed, he always did ample justice to men. No friend ever attempted or ever will attempt to draw a picture of George Grenville or Charles Townshend after him. In "Thoughts on the Present Discontents" he speaks without bitterness of Lord Bute and the Duke of Grafton. So just was his mind that the reports of debates in Parliament in the Annual Register seemed written by the very best of reporters, a man who had no opinion of his own.

Like all that he ever did, his acceptance of the agency of an American province was the occasion of attacks from

¹ Van Schaack, 20.

all sides. He was contemptuously addressed as "The Agent of New York"; was called "the American pensioner," "the hireling," and represented as one rolling in the ill-gotten gains of a dishonorable but lucrative office. In our own time, historians of great eminence have spoken with suspicion of the position he occupied. Lord Mahon says: "Burke had greatly impaired his influence at least on American questions by accepting, two years before, the post of Agent to the State of New York with a salary little short of £1,000 a year."¹ The fact is, the salary was about half what the noble historian states it to have been; but it is altogether too much to believe that those who voted with Lord North on American questions would have been influenced by any very high moral sentiments in politics. If they were, why did they not also vent their vengeance upon Richard Jackson, a member of Parliament for two and twenty years (1762-1784), and at one time agent for three colonies; or upon John Garth, himself an M.P., and the ever-faithful Agent of South Carolina? Both were men of great ability and influence, and both were men of personal integrity and unsullied honor. But in none of these respects were they superior to Burke.

Mr. Lecky says, "Burke had accepted with doubtful propriety the position of paid Agent of New York."² This is stating the subject mildly. But it is something more than a matter of taste; and whatever the moral rule may be in such cases, the best of men are always willing to allow a great deal to one man that they would not trust in the hands of another. It is the height of immorality to apply the rogue's rule to all mankind because some men are dishonest.

Burke, whose moral instincts were clear, years after the American war (Feb. 24, 1784), in reply to Major Scott, a minion of Warren Hastings, explains the duties and character of an agent in the House of Commons. But all that

¹ *Hist. England*, V., 331.

² *Hist. England*, III., 425.

remains of it in the Parliamentary History—and that is the only record that has come to light—is a personal avowal. “He entered,” says the reporter, “into a discussion of the nature of agency and declared his surprise that any man should be ashamed to act in that character. He said, not that it is any disgrace to a gentleman to confess himself an Agent and to stand as an Agent within these walls. He had formerly stood in that character when he was Agent for the Province of New York. As such he had negotiated the concerns of the Province with the King’s ministers in this House and in the other, and had but the language of the Province through him been heard and attended to, perhaps he might still have been Agent of the Province and the Province been a part of the British Empire.”¹

But whatever may be our opinion of the morality, the good or bad taste of his position, it can well be said of him as Bancroft has said of Richard Jackson, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer under Grenville, a member of Parliament and Agent for Massachusetts, Connecticut and Pennsylvania: “He was always able to combine affection for England with uprightness and fidelity to his American employers.”²

Perhaps scant justice has been done to the Assembly of New York by historians. However this may be, it will ever be a bright and shining incident in their history that they had the wisdom, or the good fortune, to employ in those troubled times as their Agent in England, Edmund Burke.

¹ Parliamentary Hist., XXV., 162.

² Bancroft’s Hist., V., 106.

PROCEEDINGS.

SEMI-ANNUAL MEETING, APRIL 25, 1894, AT THE HALL OF THE
AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES, BOSTON.

THE Society was called to order at 10.30 A. M., by President SALISBURY. In the absence of the SECRETARY, CHARLES A. CHASE was elected Secretary *pro tem*. The records of the last meeting were read and approved.

The following members were present¹ :—

Robert C. Winthrop, George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, James D. Butler, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, P. Emory Aldrich, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, James F. Hunnewell, Albert H. Hoyt, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Edmund M. Barton, Lucius R. Paige, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Solomon Lincoln, Andrew McF. Davis, Cyrus Hamlin, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. Lamson, Henry S. Nourse, Reuben Colton, William W. Rice, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Grindall Reynolds, James P. Baxter, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill, John F. Jameson, Charles P. Bowditch, Charles P. Greenough, Edwin D. Mead, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Charles J. Hoadly, Benjamin A. Gould, Henry A. Marsh, Edward F. Johnson.

Mr. HENRY H. EDES requested a correction of the record of his remarks at the annual meeting. What he said, in substance, was this : That the reason why the University of Cambridge had not followed the lead of Oxford in

¹ The names are printed in the order of election.

printing a general catalogue of her graduates [not “ undergraduates ”] was, that an interesting volume of matriculations [not “ recollections ”] containing the names of some of the early settlers of Massachusetts was missing from the Cambridge archives. He offered the following vote : —

Voted : that the Committee on Publication be requested to submit seasonably to the several authors a proof of all communications to the Society, whether oral or written, which are to be included in any of its publications.

The PRESIDENT stated that in almost every case the remarks of the different members who took part were submitted to them, but it was possible that some omissions might have taken place.

Mr. PAINE said “ that it is the rule of the committee to send extended remarks to the different gentlemen, and that instructions to that effect were given to the printer. Brief remarks may not have been sent.”

The vote of Mr. EDES was then passed.

The PRESIDENT : — “ We have with us to-day one of our oldest and most valued members, the Rev. Dr. LUCIUS R. PAIGE, who has made a special exception and a great effort to attend the meeting to-day. I know it is a great honor to the Society and a gratification to its members to have him present, and we are glad that he is in such good health. We also have the attendance of another venerable member, the seventh oldest member of our list. He has come a great distance to be present with us : Dr. JAMES D. BUTLER, of Madison, Wisconsin. It is pleasant to see that the interests of our Society are kept so fresh in the minds of its members at a distance.”

The report of the Council was presented by the Secretary *pro tem.* in part.

The President called on Dr. G. STANLEY HALL to continue the Report of the Council in the paper prepared by himself.

Dr. PAIGE :— “ I have been glad to see the pleasant faces of our associates once more. But as I have not been able to hear one word of the proceedings, I may therefore ask to be excused.”

Dr. PAIGE then left, the whole Society rising to do him honor.

The PRESIDENT :— “ During the reading of the last interesting paper, the Society may not have noticed the entrance of our senior member, The Honorable ROBERT C. WINTHROP. He came in and seated himself in the rear of the room, but left the meeting before the paper was finished. I thought it proper that notice should be taken of this visit, that the Society might extend a greeting to him ; but I was unwilling to interrupt the proceedings. Mr. WINTHROP was elected a member in 1838, a period when many of our members had not come upon the stage. He is followed, after an interval of nine years, by Dr. GEORGE E. ELLIS and Dr. EDWARD E. HALE. I think that it would be graceful if the Society were to take some notice of the attention that has been paid to it by our oldest member.”

On motion of Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN :—It was voted that an entry be made on the records of the Society, of the fact that Mr. WINTHROP was present and the great gratification it afforded to the Society, and also that the secretary communicate an expression of our gratification to Mr. WINTHROP.”

The President then called for the report of the Treasurer. This was presented by Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE, in print.

Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON read his semi-annual report as Librarian.

Mr. HOAR :— “ I move that the Report of the Council be accepted, and that the thanks of the Society be extended to President HALL for his masterly statement of the very interesting subject with which he has dealt. I am sure

that this paper will be carefully read by us all when it is printed. There were some of the sentences into which I wanted to break with applause as they were read. But it has occurred to me that there was perhaps one thing which would be interesting and would add completeness to his narrative, and which might be inserted before it is printed; and that is an account of Emerson's lectures at Harvard College towards the close of his life. He gave some lectures on 'The Natural History of the Intellect,' which were largely ethical, as was everything that Emerson said. I do not know that there is anywhere published, even in his biography, a good account of that experiment, and I think it would be very interesting to have an account of it as a fitting conclusion to Dr. HALL's narrative."

Dr. BUTLER:— "In regard to the study of Hebrew in Harvard a hundred and fifty years ago, I have heard of an incident that may be used as an illustration. In Dedham, there is an old almanac in which is told the story of the hazing of the teacher of Hebrew, a Jew, between the years 1756 and 1758. Certain students were brought to trial, and some ran away, for "bull-riding," as was said, the Hebrew teacher."

The motion of Mr. HOAR was then passed.

On motion of Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES, a vote of thanks was given to the Treasurer for the satisfactory results he had secured.

The Secretary *pro tem.* announced that the Council recommended the following-named gentlemen for membership:—

GARDINER GREENE HUBBARD, of Washington, D. C.

JOHN GREEN, M.D., of St. Louis, Mo.

Rev. WILLIAM DELOSS LOVE, JR., of Hartford, Conn.

JOHN ELBRIDGE HUDSON, of Boston.

ROCKWOOD HOAR, of Worcester.

Rt. Rev. HENRY BENJAMIN WHIPPLE, of Faribault, Minn.

Rev. WILLIAM JEWETT TUCKER, LL.D., of Hanover, N. H.

Ballots were taken and the above-named gentlemen were elected.

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN : — “ At the last Annual Meeting of this Society, on motion of Senator HOAR, a list of Fast Days ordered in the early history of the colonies of Plymouth and Massachusetts Bay, was referred to me with the request that I should prepare it for publication in to-day’s proceedings. This list, made at the suggestion of Mr. HOAR, was drawn up in the office of the Secretary of State, from such records as are found in the archives of the Commonwealth. By a clerical error the name of Mr. SAMUEL S. GREEN appears in the printed account of that meeting as the person to whom the matter was referred ; but the mistake has since been corrected. This explanation is due in order to show why I make the report.

“ It is known by some members of the Society that the Rev. William DeLoss Love, Jr., of Hartford, for a long time, has been engaged on a work which gives a list not only of Fast Days in Massachusetts, but also of Thanksgiving Days, and includes, furthermore, within its scope, similar days in the States of Connecticut and New Hampshire. It is accompanied by a critical essay on the causes leading up to the various occasions when they were appointed, and forms an exhaustive historical treatise on the subject. As the author intends to publish his work, within a few months at the farthest, it seems hardly expedient for the Society to print the list as submitted by Mr. HOAR.

“ I am happy to add that Mr. Love is one of the gentlemen just chosen to-day to our list of membership.”

Mr. ANDREW McF. DAVIS : — “ It is well known that several years ago I presented a paper for the consideration of this Society concerning the Lady-Mowlson Scholarship at Harvard College. It was probably through the information submitted in that paper that the scholarship was re-

established and that subsequently the name of Radcliffe College was adopted by the Society for the Higher Instruction of Women, at Cambridge. At the time this name was adopted, there was a slight gap in the evidence as to the actual identity of the family-name of Lady Mowlson. I think it is proper to inform you to-day that the gap has been entirely closed. Mr. John Ward Dean, who has taken a great interest in the development of the matter, wrote not only to Mr. Waters, who was then at work in England, but to Mr. Marshall of the Heralds College, and the latter has sent from London the pedigree of the Mowlson family. He also sent copies from entries in the Registers of St. Christopher le Stocks, London, which give the marriage of Sir Thomas Mowlson to Ann Radcliffe. From the dates therein given we get some idea of her age, for there has been nothing known hitherto which enabled us to judge how old she was when she made the gift. She was married in 1600, and there is recorded the baptism and burial of a child in 1606, so that in 1643 she must have been a woman well-advanced in years. Further than that, Mr. Marshall gave a reference through which I was able to find in the College library a pedigree of the Radcliffe family in full."

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE:—"I am the person who had the honor of calling the attention of the officers of Harvard College to what a graceful thing it would be to take this original gift of Ann Radcliffe and present it as their dowry to Radcliffe College, with compound interest of course, from that time to the present. It requires only the transfer of some forty-three millions of dollars. It is a considerable sum, but they will probably attend to it at the proper time!! By the death of Miss Sarah Parker, of Roxbury, Radcliffe College receives its first large benefaction in the shape of a bequest of \$150,000."

A paper was then read by Dr. BUTLER, of Madison, Wis.,

on "The New Found Journal of Charles Floyd, a Sergeant under Captains Lewis and Clark."

Mr. JUSTIN WINSOR made the following statement as to the present condition of the archives of Harvard College, now in his custody, and of date previous to 1805 : —

The *Records of the Corporation*, beginning in 1643, in eight volumes, insufficiently indexed. Of the first and third volumes, a careful transcript has been recently made by Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS, and given to the College. The second book is missing; but Mr. DAVIS made up a statement of its contents from other sources, and this statement was printed in 1888, as No. 27 of the "Bibliographical Contributions of the Library of Harvard University."

Some years ago, four volumes of loose papers, pertaining, for the most part, to these records, were arranged and bound in President SPARKS's time. Recently, three other volumes have been made up as supplements. A calendar with references to historical authorities, has been lately made, and bound in one volume with an index, which affords a key to the entire series of papers in these seven volumes. This work has been done by Mr. William G. Brown, the assistant immediately in charge of the archives.

There are in the archives some other volumes illustrating the records of the Corporation : —

A small volume, "Benefactors of Harvard College," extending from 1636 to about the outbreak of the American Revolution.

A volume lettered, "Wills, Gifts and Grants, 1643–1801," a compilation.

The "Donation Book, 1636–1839," in two volumes, constantly referred to in Quincy's "History of the University."

A more recent schedule marked "Donations, 1638–1870," not bound, made by Mr. Gibbs, at the time secretary to President Eliot.

A volume of "Sewall Deeds, 1696."

"Papers relating to Harvard College, 1698-1700," copied in England by Henry Stevens.

"Papers concerning the Charlestown Ferry, 1707-1806."

"Rev. Daniel Williams' will, 1711," printed.

"Thomas Hollis's letters to President Leverett and others, 1709-1735."

"Thomas Hollis's statutes and orders for his gifts, with related papers, 1722-1724."

"Hollis book, 1718-1774," containing papers of Thomas, Isaac and T. B. Hollis.

"Records of the Dudleian lectureship, 1750-1850."

"Papers concerning the philosophical apparatus and the professorship of Natural History, 1765-1820."

"Three letters from I. Mauduit, concerning the society for propagating the gospel, 1770, 1771."

"Papers concerning eastern lands, 1780-1835." These are lands in Maine belonging to the College. 2 volumes.

"Papers about the College, from the Bowdoin Papers, 1780-1783." Given by Robert C. Winthrop.

The "Diary of Tutor Flynt, 1707-1750," an old parchment-bound quarto.

"President Leverett's Book, 1707-1723," covering data of his administration, including a diary.

"President Wadsworth's Book, 1725-1736," of a similar character.

There are also two modern scrap-books, in which various papers have been placed as they came to light. One is called: "Harvard College Miscellaneous Papers," of which the earliest paper is dated 1691. The other, "Scrap Book of Harvard College," contains a paper called "Gifts to Harvard College, 1639-1770"; various early deeds and the engrossed charter of 1692; letters of Henry Flynt, 1719, 1720, on gifts to the College; the Ward Nicholas Boylston Papers, 1800-1822; papers relating to the estate of Christopher Gore, 1828-1836, etc., etc., etc.

The original charter of 1650 is framed, with a protecting

curtain, and hung in the librarian's room. A heliotype of it was given in the "Record of the 250th Anniversary of the College," in 1886.

The *Records of the Overseers*, roughly indexed, begun in 1707, and included in four volumes, down to 1805.

The *Records of the Treasurers and Stewards* are fragmentary. The Treasurers' accounts from 1669–1693 were found in the stables of the Hancock House in Boston, at the time of its destruction; but the volume is too badly damaged by mould to be serviceable in most parts, and the experts in restoration have declined to touch it. The book of the Treasurer, Thomas Brattle, 1693–1713, contains accounts, letters, etc. "Treasurer's Letter-books, 1778–1821," in three volumes. This statement does not include what is kept in the office of the Treasurer in Boston.

The *Faculty Records* begun in 1725, and continued in seven volumes down to 1805. They are roughly indexed. They afford little respecting the curriculum, but much about disciplining the students.

In addition to these papers, the Librarian has in his charge a large collection, known as the University Collection, which embraces, for the most part, printed matter relating to the College, gathered from every source and suited to illustrate all phases of the progress of the College and the life of the Academic community.

Among the manuscripts not of an official character in this collection are various sermons and records of sermons, *e. g.* :—

Benjamin Wadsworth's sermons, 1711, 1712.

Notes of sermons by President Leverett, 1712, 1713.

Notes of sermons published at the College, 1716–1718.

Professor Winthrop's abstracts of sermons preached at the College, 1728, 1729.

There are also in this University Collection various papers relating to President Dunster, which have been

acquired of late years, and are not a part of the archives.

Dunster manuscripts, the earliest being papers signed by him, March 20, 1640, and one by Richard Saltonstall, 1651. Some of these papers have been printed in the Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, Vol. XXXII. These were given by Samuel Dunster, of Attleboro', in 1886.

Dunster manuscripts, given by Benjamin Pierce in 1846. The earliest is a paper by Stephen Daye, the printer, 1638, and there are sundry other papers relating to the early Cambridge press. These have been used by Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS in a paper, "The Cambridge Press in its Early Days," which was presented to this Society in April, 1888. It may be added that there is reason to believe that this original press, after many wanderings, is now the property of the State of Vermont, and is preserved in the capitol at Montpelier.

The Collection given by Samuel Dunster also contains various other manuscripts, ancient and modern, relating to Dunster and his descendants, with his Bible, and other books and tracts.

Mr. WINSOR also said that it is well to take notice of a late volume of the Historical Manuscripts Commission (1892, Vol. XLV.), containing some new letters, found among the Dartmouth Papers, written by George III. during the American Revolution. The editor says: "Quite recently Lord Dartmouth has discovered a large mass of other papers, many of which also relate to America, which have been sent up to London for examination. A report upon these is being prepared for a later date." It will be remembered that the Commission has already calendared a large mass of the Dartmouth Papers in the appendix of their Eleventh Report.

Mr. WINSOR further remarked that he had observed a few slight traces of Edward Winslow's service, as one of Cromwell's Commissioners to the West Indies, in the

Papers of the Duke of Portland, calendared in the appendix of the 13th report of the same Commission.

A Paper on "Colonial Concord and its Burying-grounds" was read by Mr. JOHN McK. MERRIAM.

Mr. MERRIAM exhibited the old gun which bears the name of Josiah Merriam, and which he supposed was brought to this country before the battle of Lexington.

The PRESIDENT asked Senator HOAR to read a paper which had been sent by JOHN BELLWS, of Gloucester, England. Mr. Hoar prefaced the reading by referring to Mr. BELLWS as the author of various valuable works, and having a great knowledge of the Roman antiquities in Britain, and the Roman occupation of Jerusalem. He is also a very eminent and accomplished naturalist. On one occasion, he went to Russia on a commission from the Society of Friends, of which he is a member, and was received by the Emperor with great cordiality. His mission was fruitful in lightening the burden of some of the oppressed races there.

A paper by Mr. FREDERICK A. OBER on the "Aborigines of the West Indies" was read by Mr. HENRY W. HAYNES.

Rev. Dr. EDWARD E. HALE then presented the letters of Mr. Gilfillan and Father Butler on the subject of Eliot's Bible, and asked permission to refer them to the Publishing Committee. They will be found in their place in the Proceedings.

Dr. HALE then said : — " I will take this moment to say that, thirty years ago, I had the pleasure of laying before the Society a list of the pictures by White, who was the artist brought over by Lane in 1585 to the unsuccessful colony on the Roanoke. I had the good fortune, in 1859, to discover these pictures in the British Museum, where they were in the Sloane Collection, and called the attention of the authorities to the fact, which they did not know, that these were original pictures, painted on this continent

twenty-two years before the settlement of Jamestown. In the Proceedings of the Society for April, 1860, I expressed the hope that some bureau of the government might obtain possession of copies of these pictures. I think the Society will be glad to know that the Smithsonian Institution has just obtained a complete set of copies, which are now in the government archives."

On motion of Mr. A. McF. DAVIS, the various papers and communications were referred to the Committee of Publication, and thanks were given to the writers of the papers.

Senator HOAR asked that the Secretary be directed to send a suitable communication to Mr. JOHN BELLOWES, of Gloucester, England.

Mr. CHARLES J. HOADLY exhibited a mutilated copy of a papal bull by Urban VIII. It is said that a Spanish ship brought a large number of these bulls to Boston, and that Mr. Fleet bought them and advertised them in Boston papers at prices very much cheaper than they could be bought of the priests, and warranted to be equally efficacious. They permitted the holder to eat meat in Lent and on every fast day, and also to have plenary absolution from all sins and crime, even those reserved to the Holy See, except heresy. The bull is in old Spanish. There is a note about this bull on page 254 of the second volume of the second edition of Thomas's "*History of Printing*." In the archives of Connecticut (*War*, V. 280), there is another of these with an account of work done on Fort Edward during the French war written on the back of the paper. The end of both of them is missing.¹

¹ The heading and title of the bull are as follows:—

QVINTA PREDICACION DE LA DECIMA QVARTA CONCESSION DE
VRBANO OCTAVO.

Bulla de la Santa Cruzada, concedida por la Santida de Vrbano VIII, de felice recordacion, para todos los Fieles Christianos, vecinos, estantes, y habitantes en las Provincias de Neueva España, y Filipinas, sujetas al Rey nuestro señor Don Felipe Quinto, con grandes indulgencias, para socorro de la guerra contra Infieles.

Mr. WINSOR : — “ I once made a reference to that, and the Catholic papers, especially in Baltimore, said that no such bull could ever have existed. I am glad to see it.”

Hon. SAMUEL A. GREEN : — “ One of the most remarkable instances of two different pronunciations of a geographical word is the name of the State of Arkansas, one of which comes from the French and the other from the English. Original settlers from the Louisiana Territory pronounced it *Arkansaw*; while those from the North called it *Arkansas*, and in the State itself, the practice has not been uniform, although within ten or fifteen years, an act has been passed declaring the pronunciation to be *Arkansaw*. I have inquired many times, in that State in regard to the matter; and even at Little Rock, the capital, there is a diversity of pronunciation. When Governor Dallas was Vice-President, and so president of the Senate, he used to introduce the one senator or the other as the gentleman from *Arkansas* or *Arkansaw* according as the gentleman himself used to pronounce the name.”

During the meeting, conversational remarks were made by Messrs. JUSTIN WINSOR, EDWARD E. HALE, GEORGE F. HOAR, JAMES D. BUTLER and HAMILTON A. HILL.

The meeting was then dissolved.

The Society dined at the Parker House, at 2.30 o'clock, by invitation of the members living in Boston and its vicinity.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Secretary pro tempore.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

THE inside history of the Society for the past six months is told in the reports of the Librarian and Treasurer, which are presented herewith.

The committee appointed at the October meeting to secure an enlargement of our chartered privileges, attended to their duties with such promptness and success as to secure the passage by the Legislature, of the following Act:—

[CHAP. 54.]

AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE THE AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY TO HOLD ADDITIONAL REAL AND PERSONAL ESTATE.

Be it enacted, etc., as follows:

SECTION 1. The American Antiquarian Society is hereby authorized to hold real and personal estate, in addition to books, papers and articles in its cabinet, to an amount not exceeding five hundred thousand dollars.

SECTION 2. This act shall take effect upon its passage. [Approved February 26, 1894.]

The following members of the Society have been removed by death:—

Francis Parkman, Charles H. Bell, George W. Childs, Isaac Smucker, William F. Poole, and Andres Aznar Perez, of Mérida, Yucatan, a foreign member.¹

Francis Parkman was born in Boston, September 16, 1823. For a century and a half his family name has been familiar in Massachusetts, and in each generation it has been

¹The notice of Mr. Parkman was contributed by Mr. J. Evarts Greene; that of Mr. Poole, by Mr. Samuel S. Green; that of Mr. Perez, by President Salisbury; the others by Mr. Chase.

borne by useful and honored men. His great-grandfather, the Rev. Ebenezer Parkman, who was graduated at Harvard in 1721, was pastor of the church in Westborough for fifty-eight years, much esteemed as a preacher, and respected for his piety, benevolence, wisdom, and dignity of character. His son, Francis Parkman's grandfather, was a successful merchant in Boston, and his son, the father of the historian, the Rev. Francis Parkman, a graduate of the Harvard class of 1807, was the minister of the New North Church in Boston and one of the founders of the Harvard professorship of pulpit eloquence and pastoral care, now known as the Parkman professorship. On his mother's side Francis Parkman could trace his descent from the Rev. John Cotton, the most eminent of the early ministers of Massachusetts.

Francis Parkman, as a boy, seemed to lack vigor, so that for his health's sake it was thought best for him to live for some years at the home of his maternal grandfather in Medford, near the border of that untamed tract of rock and forest known of late as the Middlesex Fells. Roaming in this wild region and pursuing the small game which abounded there, he doubtless acquired the love of nature and open air life which was a valuable part of his equipment for the work which he early planned and executed at length, surmounting unusual difficulties with a steadfast resolution as extraordinary as the splendid success which crowned his labors.

With health improved, he returned to Boston, entered the school since known as Chauncy Hall, and passed thence to Harvard College in 1840. It is said that so early as his Sophomore year he had formed the purpose of writing a history of the French and Indian war. It is certain that his conduct was such as it would have been if wisely planned to fit him for the execution of such a purpose. One of his summer vacations was spent on the Magalloway River in northern Maine, where he made acquaintance with the character and habits of the eastern Indians, and the condi-

tions under which expeditions, hostile or peaceful, were made in New England when most of it was a primeval wilderness. Another vacation was given to Lake George and Lake Champlain, on whose waters and shores, the scenes of many events of which he was to be the historian, he roved and camped.

An injury received in 1843 from an accident in the gymnasium compelled him to suspend his studies at Harvard, and he spent a year in European travel, visiting Gibraltar and Malta, places where instructive and inspiring reminders of the great struggle which, begun in Virginia, convulsed the old as well as the new world, were before his eyes. In Rome he lodged for some time in a monastery of the Passionist Fathers. By personal associations with them through his sympathetic temper and his strong purpose to know the roots of events and the soil in which they grew, he learned, as he could not from books, to comprehend the spirit of those great religious and missionary orders which the Roman Church has employed so efficiently in its vast designs. From this journey Mr. Parkman returned in season to be graduated with his class in 1844.

After leaving college Mr. Parkman began his studies for the bar, but did not pursue them long. In the spring of 1846 he, with his kinsman, Quincy Adams Shaw, started on an expedition to the far west, not for adventure, but for study of the Indians of that region, as a further preparation for his life work. They followed for hundreds of miles the trail, already distinctly defined, of emigrants to Oregon, and then, turning aside from the beaten track, joined a band of Sioux Indians, living with them in their camps, ranging with them in their expeditions over the region including the eastern slope of the Rocky Mountains, the Black Hills, and the valleys of the Platte and the upper Missouri. Here, in a region unchanged since the discovery of the continent by Europeans, and with a people whose customs and mode of life had suffered scarcely any change except those incident

to the acquisition of the horse as a domestic animal, these young men had opportunities of studying the Indian character in its primitive conditions, which a very few years later were impossible. The advantages of this excursion were inestimable to the historian, but it had its penalty too, for its hardships and exposures permanently impaired his health.

The narrative of this expedition was first told in a series of articles in the *Knickerbocker Magazine* under the title of "The Oregon Trail," and these articles collected made Mr. Parkman's first published volume, which appeared in 1847.

Having thus gained, as he says, in the wild regions of the north and west, by the camp fire and in the canoe, "a familiar acquaintance with the men and the scenery of the wilderness," he was so far equipped for his great task, and he at once began further preparation by the study of the closet, gathering material for the first of his series of historical works, although the period and the events of which it treats were the last in historical order. This work was undertaken and accomplished amid difficulties which only the most heroic resolution could surmount. "For about three years," as he says in his preface, "the light of day was insupportable and every attempt at reading or writing completely debarred." Yet the necessary documents, comprising thousands of manuscript pages of letters, journals, reports and dispatches, scattered in numerous public offices in Europe and America, were collected, with printed material also, wherever it could be found, and the whole carefully sifted, the work composed and dictated to an amanuensis. Under these hard conditions "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," published in two volumes in 1851, was produced.

But he had overtasked himself and a long period of rest from this exhausting labor was imperative. In 1854, he bought a place on the shore of Jamaica Pond, in the town of West Roxbury, now a part of Boston, and occupied himself chiefly with his garden. Like another famous

American historian¹ he cultivated roses, and he also experimented in the hybridization of flowers, producing several new varieties, one of which is known to botanists as *Lilium Parkmanni*. During this interval he made his only essay in fiction, the novel "Vassall Morton." His experience in gardening at Jamaica Plain prompted the production somewhat later of his "Book of Roses," published in 1866.

In 1858 Mr. Parkman's health was so far recovered that he was encouraged to resume his historical labors, and in that year he visited Europe to collect material in the public archives for his work. His design had by this time expanded so as to comprise a history of the whole struggle between France and England for supremacy in the new world. Later journeys with the same purpose were made during the next thirteen years.

In 1865 was published "Pioneers of France in the New World," relating the voyages and settlements, established or attempted, by Frenchmen in the sixteenth century and the first years of the seventeenth, in Florida, Acadia and on the St. Lawrence. Two years later was published "The Jesuits in North America," a story of marvellous interest, in which, though the parts of the colonist and the soldier were full of peril, hardship and suffering, the soldier of the cross fairly out-did his brother of the sword in daring, endurance and self-devotion. Next, in 1869, came "The Discovery of the Great West," treating of the explorations of La Salle and others in the region of the great lakes and of the Mississippi. "The Old Régime in Canada" followed, dealing with the period between 1653 and 1680, and the endeavor of monarch and ecclesiastics to reproduce in the wilds of Canada the feudal system of the old world. Three years later was published "Count Frontenac and New France under Louis XIV.," in 1884, "Montcalm and Wolfe"; and in 1892, "A Half Century of Conflict," which last fills up the interval between the two preceding, and thus completes the series, in which, from its beginning with the

¹George Bancroft.

“Pioneers” to the last convulsive throes in the “Conspiracy of Pontiac,” the story of the great effort to make the continent of North America a new France, one of the most momentous and interesting passages in human history, is told, as such a story ought to be, with fidelity and completeness which satisfy the critical student, and with such skill in marshalling the facts and persons and such charm of style as to fascinate every reader.

Besides this great work, which places him in the front rank of American historians, Mr. Parkman wrote occasionally for the *Christian Examiner*, the *North American Review* and the *Atlantic Monthly*, his latest published work, I believe, being a serial for the last named magazine on “Feudal Knights of Acadia.” The conservative temper of his mind appears in an article in the *North American Review*, in 1878, on “The Failure of Universal Suffrage,” and in a pamphlet, published five years later, giving “Some of the Reasons against Woman Suffrage.”

This is not the place for a critical estimate of Mr. Parkman’s literary achievement. It is enough to say that he chose a theme of unsurpassed interest and historic importance, fascinating in its scenery—beautiful yet savage, full of suggestions of mystery, of terror or allurements—in its strangely contrasted personages, in its singular variety of romantic and heroic action, in its momentous consequences in fixing the destiny of this continent and its people, and in that, with all its important relations to the past and future, it is in a sense an historical episode, having a distinct beginning, course and end, so that the narrative is rounded and complete; that he prepared himself for his work, not only by exhaustive study of documents and archives, but by making himself familiarly acquainted with the men and the scenery of the wilderness; that he dealt with his materials with sympathetic as well as historic insight, so that the authenticity of his narrative is unquestionable; that his story is so constructed, and told in a style so clear and

vigorous as to satisfy all the requirements of literary art, combining the charm of Herodotus with the philosophic scope of Thucydides. This portion of the domain of history he has won for himself and holds by an indefeasible title for all time, for it is impossible that any future writer, however brilliantly endowed, should be qualified to set up a valid claim as his rival.

Mr. Parkman was elected a member of this Society at the Semi-Annual Meeting in October, 1865.

Mr. Parkman was for a short time a professor in the Bussey Institute of Harvard University, was from 1868 to 1871 a member of the Board of Overseers, and from 1875 to 1888 a member of the corporation. He was for a time president of the Massachusetts Horticultural Society. He received the degree of LL.D. from Harvard University in 1889, from McGill University in Canada in 1879, and from Williams College in 1885.

Mr. Parkman married in 1850, Catherine, daughter of Dr. Jacob Bigelow of Boston, who died in 1858, leaving two daughters, who survive their father.


In person Mr. Parkman was tall and spare, with clearly cut features, giving the impression of intellectual power, keenness of perception, and strength and tenacity of purpose. He was in general somewhat reserved in manner, but genial in his intercourse with trusted friends.

Charles Henry Bell, LL.D., born in Chester, N. H., Nov. 18, 1823, died at Exeter in that State, Nov. 11, 1893. He was the youngest of ten children of John and Persis Thorn Bell, and on his father's side was descended from the Scotch-Irish refugees who sought this country in the early part of the last century, and of whom a colony settled the town of Londonderry in New Hampshire, finding there a haven of rest which they failed to obtain in some parts of Massachusetts. Fitted for college at Phillips Exeter Academy, he was graduated from Dartmouth Col-

lege in 1844. He embraced the profession of law, and after his admission to the bar, practised with great success in his native town and in Great Falls, N. H., removing, however, in 1854, to Exeter, which continued to be his home for the rest of his life. For ten years following 1856, he served as solicitor of the county of Rockingham, and in 1868, although his practice was large and lucrative, he withdrew from active practice to give his time to literary and other avocations. The Hon. Jeremiah Smith, a former Justice of the Supreme Court of New Hampshire, says:—

“As a jury lawyer, Mr. Bell differed widely from most of the men then recognized as leaders of the bar. They were largely men of strength and character, but they had inherited from the preceding generation some undesirable ways. From an early day, the demeanor of opposing counsel toward each other had generally been brusque and sometimes rough. The treatment of witnesses on cross-examination was often very objectionable. In addresses to the jury, prolixity was the order of the day. For a long time, there had been no rule of court limiting the length of the closing argument, and the custom was, with one or two notable exceptions, to discuss each case at inordinate length, dwelling on every minute point. In all these respects, Mr. Bell had the independence to differ from the usages and traditions of the bar. He never failed in courtesy. An observer might have well applied to him the remark which Richard H. Dana made in reference to the eminent Massachusetts lawyer, Franklin Dexter: ‘He seems to be a gentleman practising law, and not a mere lawyer.’ Mr. Bell treated everyone in the court-room with the same civility that he exhibited towards his equals in social life.”

Mr. Bell was elected a representative to the State Legislature in 1858, and received the rare honor of being appointed chairman of the judiciary committee in his first term of office. He was elected in each of the two following years, and in 1860, served as Speaker. He was State Senator in 1863 and 1864, and was President of the Senate



in the latter year. He was a member of the lower branch, also, in 1872 and 1873.

In March, 1879, the Governor of the State appointed Mr. Bell as United States Senator. Senator Wadleigh's term had expired, and, under a new constitution of the State, the Legislature would not assemble until June. The right of the Governor to make the appointment under the circumstances was disputed at Washington, and the earnest debate which arose in the Senate continued for several days, resulting in Mr. Bell's admission by vote of 35 to 28. At the republican State convention in 1880, his name was brought forward for the office of Governor, which had been filled by his father in 1828, and by his uncle Samuel in 1819. He received the honor of a nomination by acclamation, which was followed by his election in November following, when he received more votes than had ever before been cast for any candidate at a New Hampshire election. He presided over the convention which assembled in 1889 to amend the constitution of his native State. In 1881, he received from his *alma mater* the honorary degree of LL.D. He was a trustee of Phillips Academy from 1879, and was its president at the time of his death.

The Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, a classmate and life-long friend of Governor Bell, says that "his character,—open, sincere, manly and just,—was united with exceptional abilities, harmonious, symmetrical, easily working and ever at command." Governor Bell's time, after his retirement from the practice of law, when not engaged in the public service, was devoted to literature and history,¹ and on this

¹ The following list includes the principal historical writings and occasional addresses of Mr. Bell:—

THE LIFE OF WILLIAM M. RICHARDSON, LL.D., 1839.

AN ADDRESS AT THE LAYING OF THE CORNER-STONE OF THE ROBINSON FEMALE SEMINARY, EXETER, N. H., 1868.

THE ADDRESS AT THE CENTENNIAL OF DERRY, N. H., 1869.

MEN AND THINGS OF EXETER, N. H., 1871.

EXETER IN 1776.

THE WHEELWRIGHT DEED, 1876.

point, Judge Chamberlain adds: "Few writers have possessed in the same degree an almost intuitive knowledge of the sources of history, or the power of grouping materials, or of estimating their values, or of perspicuously presenting them; nor can I doubt that had he sooner entered the field of historical investigation, and devoted his rare powers to some work which would have called them forth, he would have held a high place among American historians."

Mr. Bell, in 1847, married Miss Sarah A. Gilman, daughter of Nicholas Gilman of Exeter, who died in 1850, leaving two daughters. In 1867, he married Mary E., daughter of Harrison Gray. Esq., of Boston, and widow of Joseph T. Gilman, who was his first wife's brother. His membership in this Society dated from October 21, 1868.

George W. Childs, of Philadelphia, died in that city on February 3, 1894. The publisher of a daily newspaper of a very large circulation, it was not as such that he was best known, but as the man whose income from that source enabled him to perform acts which made his name familiar in both hemispheres, and secured for himself a circle of friends which a monarch might desire but could never attain. Born in Baltimore in 1829, he entered the naval service by enlistment at the age of thirteen years, but

JOHN WHEELWRIGHT; HIS WRITINGS AND MEMOIR, 1876.

AN ADDRESS IN MEMORY OF HON. IRA PERLEY, BEFORE THE ALUMNI ASSOCIATION OF DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 1880.

AN ORATION BEFORE THE PHI BETA KAPPA SOCIETY, DARTMOUTH COLLEGE, 1881.

MEMOIR OF DANIEL WEBSTER, FOR THE NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY, 1881.

PHILLIPS EXETER ACADEMY; A HISTORICAL SKETCH, 1883.

A MEMOIR OF DR. JOHN T. GILMAN, PRIVATELY PRINTED FOR THE FAMILY, 1885.

HISTORY OF EXETER, N. H., 1888.

THE EXETER QUARTER MILLENNIAL; AN ADDRESS AT EXETER, N. H., JUNE 7, 1888.

AN ADDRESS BEFORE THE BUNKER HILL MONUMENT ASSOCIATION IN BOSTON, JUNE 17, 1891.

THE BENCH AND BAR OF NEW HAMPSHIRE, 1894.

remained there but thirteen months. At the age of fifteen, we find him in Philadelphia, as shop-boy in a bookstore. His zeal and intelligence won the respect and confidence of his employer, who very soon deputed him to attend and make purchases at the trade sales of books, which were then annually held in New York and Boston. Frugal by nature he saved enough from his earnings in four years to set up in business in a small way, by himself, but before he became of age, or in 1849, he was admitted to the publishing firm of R. E. Peterson & Co., which afterwards acquired a wide reputation under the new name of Childs & Peterson. One of the first works issued by the new firm was Doctor Kane's "Arctic Explorations." Mr. Childs's practical business energy led him to advertise this work very widely, in advance of its publication, and also took him to New York City to secure orders from the trade. Of this visit, he writes: "The largest house would only give me a small order. 'Mr. Childs,' they said, 'you won't sell more than one thousand altogether.' They ordered at first only one hundred copies, but soon after sent for five hundred more to meet the demand. Within one year after the publication, we paid Doctor Kane a copyright of nearly seventy thousand dollars." Parson Brownlow's book was so well advertised that 50,000 copies were sold before publication. Doctor Allibone's "Dictionary of English and American Authors," was dedicated to Mr. Childs, to whom the author expressed gratitude for his energy and aid. Many other notable and valuable works were issued by Childs and Peterson. In 1860, the copartnership was dissolved, and Mr. Childs was for about a year a member of the well-known firm of J. B. Lippincott & Co., but in 1861, he is again found doing business for himself, and on a scale of which he could have little dreamed in his modest quarters twenty-five years before.

The Public Ledger newspaper was founded at Philadelphia in 1836, by three journeymen printers from New York.

Conducted on correct principles and a moral basis, it attained a very large local circulation, and was for a long time very profitable. It was sold at one cent a copy, but with the great advance in the cost of paper during the war, it came to pass that each unprinted sheet cost more than was received for it, and the other expenses of publication exceeded the receipts from advertising, and it was losing money at the rate of about one hundred and fifty thousand dollars a year. At this juncture, in December, 1864, Mr. Childs, with the aid of Anthony J. Drexel, purchased the property. From necessity, he doubled the price of the paper and advanced the rates for advertising. He employed the best talent, and for several years gave from twelve to fourteen hours of his own time daily to the work of raising the paper to a high plane. In these days of sensational journalism, it is an agreeable relief to look upon such a paper as *The Public Ledger*, and a duty as well as a pleasure to express our respect for the man who reflected his own character in its columns.

The wide circle of friends of Mr. Childs included the most prominent men of his time. He was very hospitable and entertained them generously, often giving elegant banquets or receptions in their honor. The Emperor and Empress of Brazil, Dean Stanley and the Duke of Buckingham were among the foreign visitors he thus entertained. With General Grant, he formed an intimacy in 1863, which continued very close until that hero's death. In 1886, Mr. Childs and Mr. Drexel sent their respective checks for \$5,000 to the International Typographical Union to aid in establishing a home for aged and invalid printers. This home was established at Colorado Springs, and Mr. Childs attended the formal opening in May, 1892, when it was christened "The Childs-Drexel Home." in honor of its principal benefactors. To the Typographical Society of Philadelphia, he gave a large, enclosed burial lot in a local cemetery.

Prominent among the public benefactions of Mr. Childs was the Memorial Drinking Fountain in honor of Shakespeare, erected at Stratford-on-Avon, and dedicated October 17, 1887. The exercises were conducted by the American Minister to England, Mr. Phelps, who delivered an address, and a poem, written by Oliver Wendell Holmes, was read by the great tragedian, Henry Irving. Among the other public gifts of Mr. Childs were the memorial window to Milton in St. Margaret's church at Westminster; the window to Herbert and Cowper in Westminster Abbey; monuments to Leigh Hunt, Edgar Allan Poe and Richard Proctor, and monuments over all the otherwise unmarked graves at West Point. He but recently erected an imposing memorial, called the "Prayer-Book Cross," near the city of San Francisco, to mark the spot where Sir Francis Drake landed, and where religious services in English were first held upon the western shores of this continent.

The calls upon such a man for private aid were of course innumerable. He considered carefully the nature of such applications, and, if found reasonable, gave cheerfully from his store.

Mr. Childs was elected a member of this Society in April, 1872. He married Emma Bouvier Peterson, daughter of his first partner, who survives him. His own affairs prevented his accepting many public duties, but his appointment as one of the British Commissioners at the Centennial Exposition involved the performance of duties which elicited the commendation of the government which he represented, and enlarged the circle of his acquaintances and friends. His death was certainly a public loss.

The Hon. Isaac Smucker, LL.B., who died at Newark, Licking County, Ohio, on January 31st, last, was born of German parents in Shenandoah County, Va., December 14, 1807. He lived in Somerset County, Pa., from 1820 to 1825, and from the last-named year, in

Newark. While the law was his profession, his mistress was history. In the "Naturalists' Directory," for 1879, he is represented as specially interested in archæology, geology and palæontology. As a member of the State Legislature he effected an important change in the school laws of Ohio, and did much to secure the continuance and completion of the geological survey of the State. He was a contributor, as early as 1835, to the *Western Monthly Magazine*, published at Cincinnati; and afterwards to the *Ladies' Repository*, edited by the late Bishop Clark, of Cincinnati, to the New York *Historical Magazine*, Lossing's *Historical Record*, the *American Monthly Magazine*, the *Scientific Monthly*, and various other periodicals. He has been president of the Ohio State Archæological Association, and vice-president of the Northwestern Historical Society. He was Secretary of the Licking County Pioneer Historical and Antiquarian Society from its inception in 1867. In the tribute paid to his memory by that society, he is described as "our most distinguished *Literatus*, historian and archæologist," and the further affirmation that "he was the society," gives evidence of his zeal and fidelity. We are told that while scholarly, thoughtful and earnest, he was no recluse, but kept in touch with the public current of life about him. He was elected by the Republican party as a Presidential elector in 1872. He was a practical Christian, his religion being free from ostentation and cant. He had been a member of this Society since April, 1871.

William Frederick Poole was born in that portion of Salem, Massachusetts, which afterwards became a part of Danvers, the 24th of December, 1821, and died at his home in Evanston, Illinois, March 1, 1894. He was descended from John Poole who came from Reading, England, was in Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1632, and became the chief proprietor of Reading in the same colony in 1635.

William was the second son of Ward Poole and Eliza Wilder, and had five brothers and one sister. Leaving school in Danvers at twelve years of age he went into a jeweller's store and from there into a tannery, remaining in the latter place until he was seventeen. Meantime his father, having acquired property in the leather and tanning business, had moved with his family to Worcester, Massachusetts, where he lived on the old Millbury road beyond what is well known there as the Baird place. William's mother was unwilling that he should not pursue his education further and, as he has told the story to the writer, went from Worcester to the house of a friend in Danvers, past which she knew that her son, who acted as a teamster, often had to drive, to await his appearance. While he was passing the house she had him stopped and in a conference pleaded with him to go home to Worcester and go to school. He yielded, and in the autumn of 1839 entered Leicester Academy, graduating in 1842. In the latter year he entered Yale College, withdrawing from that institution after a single year in order to earn money by teaching, and returning in time to graduate in 1849. While in college he became assistant librarian and then librarian of the society known as Brothers in Unity, which had a library of 10,000 volumes. In these positions he saw the need of an index to the periodical literature in the library and prepared one in manuscript.

In his junior year, 1848, Mr. Poole published the first edition of his "Index to Periodical Literature," an octavo volume of 154 pages, in which 560 volumes were indexed. "Orders from abroad," he writes, "exceeded the whole edition as soon as it was announced." Mr. Poole told the writer of this notice that after he had prepared the manuscript of this edition of the Index for the printer he carried it from Boston to his home in Worcester one afternoon in the year 1848 and, as our late associate Charles Allen was to speak in the evening in the City Hall, waited in the

centre of the town to hear him before returning home. He left the manuscript in a buggy near the hall while he went in to listen to Mr. Allen. On coming out he found that it was gone, and had to do the work over again, aided in doing it only by unsatisfactory memoranda. During his senior year in college Mr. Poole prepared the second edition of the Index, indexing nearly 1,500 volumes in a book of 521 pages. This was published in 1853. There was a time when copies of that edition did not meet with a ready sale, but long before another edition appeared a copy could only be had at a very high price. In 1882 the third edition of the Index was published with the coöperation of the American Library Association and the Library Association of the United Kingdom, and with Mr. William I. Fletcher as associate editor. In that edition the Index has 1,442 pages and indexed 6,205 volumes. The first supplement, January 1, 1882, to January 1, 1887, was issued under the editorship of Poole and Fletcher, and the second supplement, January 1, 1887, to January 1, 1892, with Mr. Fletcher as sole editor.

Mr. Poole became assistant librarian of the Boston Athenæum, while our late associate, Charles Folsom, was librarian, in 1851, and in 1852 librarian of the Mercantile Library, Boston, in which position he remained four years, while there printing a dictionary catalogue of the library on the "title a line principle," which has been widely followed. For nearly thirteen years, 1856 until 1869, Mr. Poole was librarian of the Boston Athenæum. After withdrawing from the Athenæum he spent a year doing work as a library expert in organizing libraries in Waterbury, Connecticut, and St. Johnsbury, Vermont, and in doing work of a similar kind at Newton and Easthampton, Massachusetts, and in the library of the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis, Maryland. Late in the year 1869 Mr. Poole began the organization and became the librarian of the Public Library, Cincinnati, and in 1873 went to

Chicago to organize and become the librarian of the Public Library of that city. He resigned that position in August, 1887, to organize and take charge, as librarian, of the Newberry Library, Chicago, a position which he held at the time of his death.

As a librarian Mr. Poole was a man of scholarly tastes and good acquirements, and a trained, well-informed, interested and successful collector of books. He has not seemed to the writer of this sketch, during a somewhat intimate acquaintance of eighteen years, as one who was much interested in the niceties of library economy which have attracted attention during those years, and it has been noticeable that most of the forward movements in library work which have been made lately have not met his approval at first. But it has been equally apparent that his heart was in the work of making libraries useful to their users, and that no man endorsed a movement more heartily or coöperated more earnestly in it than he did when its wisdom had been proved by experience. Mr. Poole was particularly interested in the subject of library architecture, and in treating of themes in this department of library economy was enthusiastic and progressive, not to say, in some cases, antagonistic. He has been a great popular power in awakening interest in the establishment and proper conduct of libraries, and has been of untold service in these respects in the West.

Mr. Poole was one of the vice-presidents of the International Conference of Librarians held in London in 1877, and was president of the American Library Association, 1885-87.

Mr. Poole was not only distinguished as a librarian but as a writer of valuable papers on historical subjects. His papers on "Cotton Mather and Salem Witchcraft" and "The Ordinance of 1787" are well remembered. He also wrote the chapter on witchcraft in the Memorial History of Boston, edited by our associate, Justin Winsor.

In 1887 Mr. Poole was president of the American Historical Association. He was an active, honorary, or corresponding member in many historical societies. He was elected a member of this Society in October, 1877. A list of Mr. Poole's historical papers may be found in the Reports of the American Historical Association for 1889-91 in the bibliographies there given of the published works of members of that association. For the principal articles of Mr. Poole on library topics reference should be made to the Report on Public Libraries issued by the United States Bureau of Education in 1877, and to a file of the *Library Journal*. Mr. Poole edited *The Owl*, a literary monthly issued in Chicago, in 1874-75, and since 1880 has been a constant contributor to *The Dial* (Chicago). The degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him in 1882 by Northwestern University, situated at his home in Evanston.

Mr. Poole married, Nov. 22, 1854, Miss Fanny M. Gleason, who survives him with one son and three daughters. He was a man of impressive appearance. Fully six feet in height, he was a handsome, well-built man. He was a constant and hard student, but at the same time always social and agreeable. He was an interesting and powerful speaker as well as writer.

Señor Andres Aznar Perez was born in Mérida, Yucatan, July 5, 1831, and was the eighth of thirteen children of Colonel Benito Aznar y Peon, acting governor of Yucatan in 1837, and Doña Dolores Perez, only daughter of Don Benito Perez Valdelomar, governor and captain-general of the province of Yucatan from 1800 to 1812, then a colony of Spain. Señor Perez received only a common school education, as in consequence of continual revolutions in the State, he was sent to work on a plantation belonging to his father situated in a swampy locality on the coast of the State of Campeachy, where in early manhood he probably contracted the fatal malaria, that at last carried him to the grave.

At thirty years of age, after many years of agricultural and mercantile pursuits in Laguna, Campeachy and Mérida, he visited Cuba, Louisiana and New York, and was profoundly impressed with the wealth, grandeur and order that existed in the metropolis of the New World, for from childhood the love of order and of excessive activity in everything he undertook for his own benefit or for his fellow-men, were his personal characteristics. In 1865 he returned to Mérida, where he intended to reside, but the proclamation of the Empire in Mexico was so repugnant to his feelings that he visited Europe, living much of his time in Paris and The Hague. He formed the acquaintance of many of his Mexican countrymen, then in exile, who later on became famous in the history of the Republic, and to these he was useful in ways that ensured to him a life-long friendship.

In 1867, on the overthrow of the empire, Señor Perez returned to Mérida and assisted General Cepeda, Dr. O'Horan and others to mitigate the evils that the great political contest and its passionate enmities had created. In 1868 he was elected President of the Ayuntamiento (Board of Aldermen). Now came the opportunity for him to exercise those qualities for which he became conspicuous, activity and determination. From early morning and always he was tireless, superintending personally all the works of the different branches of the municipality. Public schools that were poorly attended were cared for. In his first year of public office he founded five schools for girls, the first ever established in Yucatan. In 1873 he was again an incumbent of the same office, at a time of terrible political agitation, when no less than six different persons occupied the gubernatorial chair. Señor Perez labored hard in his department, intervening in behalf of justice, without losing the respect of the belligerents who were his friends.

Señor Perez revisited the United States in 1876, and resided there for ten years. From the Centennial Exposi-

tion, he published in the Yucatan papers notices of such exhibits as would be of particular interest in his country, especially of schools and their different systems, the study of which and of institutions of learning became the occupation of his life. He also visited the leading penitentiaries of the country and asylums for the indigent, having in mind the needs of Yucatan.

Returning to Yucatan in 1886 he devoted himself to the improvement of its educational, charitable and reformatory institutions. In 1887 he was commissioned Superintendent of the State Penitentiary, of which he was a promoter and benefactor and, together with Governor Carlos Peon, was the donor of the land upon which it has been built.

Señor Perez was for years a director of the Asilo de los Mendigos Celarain, Librarian of the Biblioteca Cepeda, Director of the Conservatorio Yucateco, and principal promoter of the Gabinete de Lectura connected with it. He was President and Director for some years of the Hospital O'Horan. He was Director of the Casa de Beneficencia Brunet, and of the Casa de Correccion and its annex, the Escuela de Artes y Oficios. He was one of the principal supporters of the Colegio Hidalgo. He was the moving spirit of the democratic club called Sociedad de la Union. He was twice its President and several times belonged to its Board of Directors. When El Casino, "La Union," was founded Señor Perez was its first Librarian. He projected and was the principal promoter of the Paseo de la Reforma. In 1878 he published a corrected reprint of the Map of Yucatan, in which work he was assisted by the engineer Don Joaquin Hübbe, also a member of our Society.

Señor Perez died January 23, 1894, and *La Revista de Mérida* says of him, "He was a lover of all works of public utility, never did he refuse his coöperation, and he labored for them right honorably and with indefatigable energy." *La Sombra de Cepeda* in a detailed notice speaks thus: "With him disappears one of the most enthusiastic pro-

motors of progress in this country. With the greatest disinterestedness, he labored without reserve for all that promised to contribute to the public good."

Señor Perez was made a member of this Society in 1879, and constantly contributed books, MSS. and series of Spanish newspapers, bearing upon the history and archæology of Yucatan. He was present at one of our stated meetings, repeatedly visited our library and was enthusiastic in his approval of the purposes of our Society and its methods. The educational system of the city of Worcester, and its public institutions were inspected by him, and he made copious notes of his observations, which he was able to make use of in Yucatan.

Señor Perez had become recognized in his country as a friend of humanity, and the memory of this patriot, lover of order, of social and political liberty and progress will long be remembered in Yucatan, where his efforts were largely instrumental in introducing new methods of education and good government.

For the Council.

G. STANLEY HALL.

CHARLES A. CHASE.

ON THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN COLLEGE TEXT-
BOOKS AND TEACHING IN LOGIC, ETHICS,
PSYCHOLOGY AND ALLIED SUBJECTS.

BY G. STANLEY HALL.

NINE years ago, General Eaton, then Commissioner of Education at Washington, was kind enough to collect for me the text-books then in use in all American colleges and universities, which would answer the circular, in the departments of ethics, logic, and psychology, as well as in the more or less accessory departments of history of philosophy, metaphysics, evidences of Christianity, natural theology, æsthetics, etc. These subjects were commonly, though not always, taught by the President during the senior year, and were, usually, in a sense the culminating or finishing studies of the old American B. A. college course. These data, with those of other branches, have lately been printed in the Commissioner's Report. Meanwhile, I have collected many other text-books and titles in these fields, making over three hundred in all, a list of which is appended.¹ I have used nearly a score of them myself with classes, and have tried to find data in college histories concerning the methods and matter of these courses in the past. The work is by no means complete, and this paper must be regarded as a few observations upon this list, in the preparation of which I have been under obligations, which I take pleasure in expressing, to Mr. Winsor who has kindly aided me in the Harvard Library, to Mr. Dexter who has done the same at Yale, to Mr. Barton, the librarian of this

¹ Page 162.

Society, and especially to the head of the Worcester Public Library, Mr. Samuel S. Green, to whose assistance I am greatly indebted. No one can be better aware than I am how imperfect and inadequate to so vast a subject this work is. In this paper I shall pass rather hastily over the historical part, in the fuller elaboration of which, later, I earnestly hope I may profit from the suggestions of the many members of this Society who are far wiser than I in that part of the field, to certain practical conclusions in which some degree of confidence has been reached.

At the beginning of this century there were but eighteen colleges in this country. Most of these had but little history, and that very imperfectly recorded. This for the first few years often contained little but the charter, names, dates, figures, accounts of buildings and benefactors, and extremely little about the matter or methods of instruction. Indeed, in all the best and latest histories and records, surprisingly little is said of the actual work in the class-room. In some cases there is for years no record in any form of text-books, and all details about older curricula must be inferred from indirect sources.

Josiah Quincy, in his *History of Harvard University*, Vol. 1, pp. 190-4, says: "the exercises of the students had the aspect of a theological rather than a literary institution. They were practised twice a day in reading the Scriptures, giving an account of their proficiency and experience in practical and spiritual truths accompanied by theoretical observations on the language and logic of the sacred writings. They were carefully to attend God's ordinances and be examined on their profiting; commonplacing the sermons and repeating them publicly in the hall.

"Such were the principles of education established in the College under the authority of Dunster. Nor does it appear that they were materially changed during the whole of the seventeenth century. Improvements were introduced but gradually, and neither their date nor their particu-

lars are anywhere distinctly stated in the College records." The chief, if not the only, requirements for admission were "so much Latin as was sufficient to understand Tully or any like classical author and to make and speak true Latin, in prose and verse, and so much Greek as was included in declining perfectly the paradigms of the Greek nouns and verbs."

"The studies of the first year were 'logic, physic, etymology, syntax, and practice on the principles of grammar.' Those of the second year, 'ethics, politics, prosody and dialects, practice of poesy and Chaldee.' Those of the third, 'arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, exercises in style, composition, epitome, both in prose and verse, Hebrew and Syriac.'

"In every year and every week of the College course, every class was practised in the Bible and catechetical divinity; also in history in the winter and in the nature of plants in the summer. Rhetoric was taught by lectures in every year and each student was required to declaim once a month."

"To the general student and such as were not destined to 'the work of the ministry,' the exercises of the College must have been irksome and, in their estimation, unprofitable. The reading every morning a portion of the Old Testament out of Hebrew into Greek, and every afternoon a portion of the New Testament out of English into Greek, however it might improve their knowledge of these languages respectively, could not greatly accelerate or enlarge their acquaintance with Scripture or tend vividly to excite their piety. The exposition, required by the laws of the College to be made by the Presidents, of the chapters read at the morning and evening services, although greatly lauded for its utility and made the repeated subject of inquiry by active members of the Board of Overseers, seems not to have been of any material efficiency in point of instruction." Yet President Quincy quotes approvingly the statement of

President Mather that under this course students were taught "*libere philosophari, et in nullius jurare verba magistri.*"

In the "Laws, liberties and orders of Harvard College," confirmed annually from 1642 to 1646, we read: "Every one shall consider the main end of his life and studies to know God and Jesus Christ, which is eternal life. John 17. 3.

"Seeing the Lord giveth wisdom, every one shall seriously by prayer in secret seek wisdom of Him.

"Every scholar that on proof is found able to read the originals of the Old and New Testament into the Latin tongue and to resolve them logically, withal being of honest life and conversation, and at any public act hath approbation of the Overseers and Master of the College, may be invested with his first degree.

"Every scholar that giveth up in writing a synopsis or summary of logic, natural and moral philosophy, arithmetic, geometry, and astronomy, and is ready to defend his thesis or positions, withal skilled in the originals as aforesaid, and still continues honest and studious, at any public act, after trial, he shall be capable of the second degree of Master of Arts."

Mather, in his *Magnalia*, says: "They that peruse the theses of the batchelors of later years published, will find that though the Ramæan discipline be in this college preferred to the Aristotelunan, yet they do not so confine themselves unto that neither, as to deprive themselves of that *libera philosophia* which the *good spirits* of the age have embraced, ever since the great Lord Bacon show'd 'em the way to 'the advancement of learning' but they seem to be rather of the sect begun by Potamon, called *Εκλεκτικοί*, who, adhering to no former sect, chose out of them all what they lik'd best in any of them: at least I am sure they do not show such a veneration for Aristotle as is express'd at Queen's Colledge in Oxford; where they read Aristotle on

their *knees*, and those who take degrees are *sworn* to defend his philosophy. A Venetian writer pretends to enumerate no less than twelve thousand volumes published in the fourteenth age, about the philosophy of Aristotle. None of ours will add to the number."

In 1708 we read that "an ancient and laudable practice" was revived. "At morning prayers all the undergraduates were ordered, beginning with the youngest, to read a verse out of the Old Testament from the Hebrew into Greek, except the freshmen, who were permitted to use their English Bibles in the exercise, and at evening service to read from the New Testament out of the Latin translation into Greek, whenever the President performed this service in the Hall."

In the visitation voted by the Overseers in 1728 it appeared that "Master's disputations and Bachelor's declamations were declining," that students read freely authors of different denominations, that the Greek Catechism was recited by freshmen without exposition, that Wollebius and Ames's system of divinity were recited by other classes with expositions on Saturday, that repetitions of the sermons of the foregoing Sabbath were made by students on Saturday evening when the President is present, and that they attend in greater numbers at prayers when there are no readings.

These, and a few other passages no more definite, a few old text-books, the quaint topics of theses, disputations and Commencement parts, especially the subjects for Master's degree at Harvard between 1655 and 1791, collected by Professor Edward J. Young,¹ are about all I have yet found concerning curricula for the first century after the foundation of Harvard in 1634.

The Yale record is but little fuller. President Porter in his account of "Mental and Moral Science in Yale," in Kingsley's History, says, in substance, that a copy of the first edition of Locke's Essay, given by Governor Yale in

¹ Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., 1880-81.

1714, two years before Jonathan Edwards entered as a lad of thirteen, had very much to do with the history of philosophic thought, not only in Yale, but in the country. At the age of fourteen he read Locke with an enjoyment as keen, he tells us, as "the most greedy miser finds when gathering up handfuls of silver and gold." At the age of seventeen he drew Berkeley's conclusion without having read him, as follows: "That which truly is the substance of all bodies is the infinitely exact, precise and perfectly stable idea in God's mind, together with the stable will that the same shall gradually be communicated to us and to other minds according to certain fixed, exact and established methods and laws." Edwards enriched and broadened theology with the best philosophy of his time. There were two sides to Edwards as there were to Schleiermacher, the great founder of contemporary German theology. He worked almost his entire system with the two sentiments of love and fear. Though we are not free he made the essence of our acts to consist not in their freedom, but in their spontaneity. The fall did not bring a new evil principle into the world, but was merely the withdrawal of divine aid. Remote as he is from us, his standpoint marked great progress. If he was infected with the religious panics and phobias of his day, he dwelt upon beneficence and the love of being, which he made the foundation of all virtues, and turned theology from discussions of the nature of the trinity to its human relations. His method of exact sequential reasoning was the very apotheosis of the ideal of logic as the culmination of academic discipline which had prevailed in this country up to this time. Throughout most of the century after the founding of Harvard, logic seems to have grown more and more the foible of academic New England, and, although the forte of the New Englander was always character, ethical teaching sank to insignificance.

The works of John Robinson, collected by Ashton, are largely ethical, and treat of health, marriage, liberty,

fashions, studies, etc. But after Roger Williams was banished in 1636, and the Cambridge Synod had condemned eighty-two opinions, the Puritan mind narrowed and darkened down, and morals consisted in Sabbath observance, Bible reading, baptisms and other theological duties, as different in matter as in method from those taught by the Leyden pastor. The cause of the blue-law tendency, which so dwarfed moral teaching, must be sought in the monastic severity of the Puritan theocracy. The struggle with the climate, the hardship of cultivating the alleged soil, provincial isolation, the slow atrophy of a life always in the face of death; these had narrowed mental life, somewhat as the entire cult of the Hebrews was condensed by the long sojourn in the desert to what could be strapped upon a camel's back.

The slow transition from this long, logical period of our collegiate history to the emotional, may perhaps be conveniently marked by the arrival of Whitefield in New England in 1740. Whitefield complained that "tutors neglected to pray with and examine the hearts of their pupils, that most schools and universities had sunk into new seminaries of paganism, that their light had become a darkness that could be felt, that students read Tillotson and Clark instead of Shepard and Stoddard." Harvard seems at first impressed by Whitefield, and in 1741 the Overseers voted to meet and "spend some time in humble thanksgiving to God for the effusion of His Holy Spirit." Later, after Whitefield had declared that few ministers were converted, the New England clergy took formal exception to some of Whitefield's methods, and Wigglesworth wrote him from Harvard pointing out the dangers of enthusiasm and censuring the "furious zeal with which you had so fired the passions of the people, which hath in many places burnt into the very vitals of religion" and the "sudden and temporary turns of distress and joy." The condition of studies in the second third of the eighteenth century was not

encouraging. The colleges were poor, small, and manned essentially by the president and a few tutors. The president, it was said, must attend to the manners of the students "entertained at the College." The Yale MS. laws of 1720 and 1726 say, all students after they have done reciting rhetoric and ethics on Friday recite Wollaston's theology, and on Saturday morning they shall recite Ames's theology and Medulla, and on Saturday evening the catechism in Latin, and on Sabbath morning attend exposition of Ames's cases of conscience. In 1726 Mr. Flynt, fifty-five years tutor at Harvard, described the studies as follows: *Freshmen*, Grammar, Virgil, Greek Testament. Friday, Dugard or Farnaby's Rhetoric. Ramus's definitions with disputations Monday and Tuesday. *Sophomores*, Burgersdicius's Logic. Heereboord's Maletemata and Wollebius's Divinity Saturday, and disputations Monday and Tuesday. *Junior sophistes*, Heereboord continued, More's ethics. Disputations Monday and Tuesday. *Senior sophistes*, Ames's Medulla, review of the Arts and weekly disputations. The decline went on despite many laudable efforts to reverse the currents. In 1732 the younger Hollis added £700 to his father's £350 to establish two professorships. In 1738 the tutor in Mathematics was exempted at Harvard from the rule that subjected each student to examination on his religious principles. The impulses to science and especially literature in Queen Anne's reign slowly spread to Massachusetts, and President Holyoke and the Overseers made a ten years' struggle to change the curriculum and raise the standard. In 1754 the Overseers objected to the state of elocution and the standard of the classes and strove to promote oratory, and suggested Erasmus's Colloquies. The Hollis prizes for Latin, Greek, and Hebrew were established to the same end. In 1761 the Overseers were told by their Committee that "Students are not required to translate English into Latin nor Latin into English, neither in verse nor prose, and suggested a thesis with opposition

and rejoinder." Trumbull's *Progress of Dulness* scored the neglect of literature and oratory.

This second academic tendency toward revivalism has, like the logic-cult, been very persistent. It did not become dominant in the New England colleges already established, as it did in some of those founded later. Durfee makes the early history of Williams College to consist chiefly of efforts to secure the conversion of the students. Its dark periods are years of spiritual drought, when "Professors were hardly distinguished from the body of the impenitent," and he describes with great personal detail the seasons of awakening, as in 1825, when there were "thirty converts in thirty days." Edward Hitchcock, in his *Reminiscences of Amherst*, says: "The religious history of Amherst is more important and interesting than everything pertaining to it," and enumerates fourteen revivals up to 1863 and estimates that three hundred and fifty began their religious life there.

A third academic movement was the expansion of systematic ethics. Morals had been taught from the first, but the movement that culminated in the Declaration of Independence made itself felt much earlier in a tendency to teach morals with at least partial independence of theology. There are two convenient and conspicuous landmarks of this tendency. The first is the Yale President, Thomas Clap's "Essay on the Nature and Foundation of Moral Virtue and Obligations: Being a Short Introduction to the Study of Ethics, for the use of the Students of Yale College," in 1765, and the second the gift of £1,362 by John Alford to Harvard College in 1789, to establish a chair of "Natural Religion, Mental Philosophy and Civil Polity in the College for ever." President Clap's sixty-six page *Ethics* premises that "as moral philosophy makes a considerable part of our academical education and is nearly connected with true religion, it is of great importance that it should be clearly stated and fixed upon the right founda-

tions." Its chief rule is to avoid *anomia* or sin. "Virtue is not by nature but by a Divine gift." The Greek philosophy came from Moses and the Prophets. There is no mere natural religion apart from Revelation. Yet he discusses a number of the chief virtues on their merits, and closes by defending stratagem in war as not lying.

Alford's will declares that the principal duty of the incumbent shall be "to demonstrate the existence of a deity or first cause, to prove and illustrate his essential attributes, both natural and moral, to explain his providence and government together with the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments; also to deduce and enforce the obligations which man is under to his Maker and the duties which he owes him, resulting from the perfections of the deity and from his own rational nature; together with the most important duties of social life, resulting from the several relations which men mutually bear to each other; and likewise the several duties which respect ourselves, founded not only on our own interest but also on the will of God; interspersing the whole with remarks showing the coincidence between the doctrines of revelation and the dictates of reason in these important points; and lastly, notwithstanding this coincidence, to state the absolute necessity and vast utility of a divine revelation.

"He shall also read a distinct course of lectures upon that branch of moral philosophy which respects the application of the laws of nature to nations and their relative rights and duties; and also on the absolute necessity of civil government in some form and the reciprocal rights and duties of magistrates and of the people resulting from the social compact; and also on the various forms of government which have existed or may exist in the world, pointing out their respective advantages and disadvantages, and what form of government is best adapted to promote the greatest happiness of mankind.

"And to the end that a regular systematical division of

the foregoing subjects and of all the other branches of science which come under this institution may be had and preserved, as well as a due proportion of time devoted to each, it is declared that the said Professor shall be under the control of the President and Fellows and Overseers of the said College who may from time to time give such directions relative thereto as they shall judge fit and proper, and as shall be consistent with the rules and orders of this institution.

“The said Professor shall read his lectures on natural religion to all the four classes of undergraduates; those on moral philosophy to the two senior classes; and those on civil polity to the senior class only; provided nevertheless that the officers of the college and resident graduates as likewise such other gentlemen as the corporation shall permit shall have a right to attend all or any of the lectures aforementioned.”

Ethics encountered much opposition at first and never came to its full independent right till the Unitarian movement. Faith was better than works. If works were not “filthy rags” they could not save men. In his diary, in 1716, Cotton Mather says: “There are some unwise things done about which I must watch for opportunity to bear public testimony; one is the employing so much time upon Ethik in College, a vile form of paganism.” Elsewhere he calls ethics “*Impietas in artis formam redacta*.” Ethics suggested Cicero, Plutarch and perhaps the Stoa. If this prejudice existed in the logical it was intensified under the revivalistic régime and after deists had attacked the clergy for a century in the name of ethics and natural religion. Mark Hopkins with his semi-theological ethics was a radical innovation in the eyes of his predecessor, President Griffin, who preferred to appeal, as he could so urgently, to the heart with exhortation to instant repentance.

The old deductive syllogistic logic, which in our ignorance of its ultimate origin seems an epoch-making creation

of the genius of Aristotle, was developed among the most disputatious of races and probably begun as rules of the game of dialectics or debate. The charm of personal encounter and rejoinder, argument and refutation, and even mere informal dialogue and colloquy, is what has always given zest to deductive logic. From the days of the Sophists through the Academy and Stoa, to the great forensics of Abelard and the scholastics, and the church councils before and after Luther's theses, disputation was the chief academic method. Weekly, semi-weekly, or even daily, between students and professors interest centered in debate. Imaginary responders were set up if there were no real ones. It was the method by which not only all the doctrines of theology and metaphysics were laboriously worked out in forge and heat, and forced home upon unwilling or sceptical minds, but by which the problems of empirical science were often treated to her great loss. Of all this, deductive logic was, of course, the canon and norm. It was no wonder, therefore, that the doctrine of fallacies became, and is now, for the average college student, the most interesting part.

The old logic had, too, another and very different function, it was the *organon* of the soul in dealing with ideas, especially the highest categories, innate intuitions, intellectual species, etc., which realism made more real than anything else, and which for Hegel made the world real, because it made it rational, with a reality so real that beside it the material world of sight and touch seemed but the shadow of a dream. Now these have taken the form of fixed types in nature with which Darwinism waged its long warfare. They have been regarded as entities, universals, now in nature, now in mind, now immanent, now transcendent, often as the *natura ipsissima* of God in directly envisaging and contemplating which Schopenhauer said the soul found its only surcease from pain. These *summa genera* were precious because brought forth with

such long labor, involving a midwifery more consummate than that of Socrates. The forms of predication controlled grammar in those days when *bonus grammaticus bonus theologus* was literally true. They presided over rhetoric and oratory in which the education of ancient Rome culminated and which has cadenced and given pace to the soul of ingenuous youth, as well as been a powerful method of influence and even of government, ever since. When realism fell and some dared to say that these ideas and forms that ruled the world were mere words, *flatus vocis*, the foundation of the entire ideal world of Plato, the church and Dante seemed crumbling. Bacon and Comenius proposed new methods; Locke urged that the ideas were mere generalizations from experience. Inductive logic, however, has followed and not led science. I cannot recall a single discovery of a single investigator avowedly due to a conscious application of a method from a treatise on logic. Whewell's *novum organum renovatum*, like Mill's Logic, which owed so much to it, is a partial description and federalization of methods that *had* succeeded. Mill undertook his work in defiance of Whately, who, with Sir William Hamilton, was the chief modern restorer of the old logic, and who had said that we could not generalize modes of investigation, especially in the absence of any adequate history of science. But anything like a philosophy of discovery, or even a good description of the way in which Faraday, Mendeleyeff or Helmholtz work, is a part of the psychology of genius that remains to be written. Few would agree with Jevons who calls Mill's great and invaluable work an "incubus of bad logic and bad philosophy." Even Jevons concludes his own logic in a collapsing way by showing what incomparable drafts science makes upon our powers of comprehension and belief, and says that all man's hopes and determinations are like the instincts of ants and bees, full of, and controlled by, an all dominating purpose too vast to be comprehended, while all about us

cries out for a higher explanation. Lotze tried to give a new turn to logic by urging that its object was not ultimately with *a priori* noetic elements, or stoichiology, as Hamilton thought, but instead of being analytic it was synthetic and its task was to work out and put together a system of coherent conclusions which would appeal to us as self evident by a criterion that was at bottom æsthetic. Only thus could logic save us from the present idolatry of experience and scepticism. Boole, too, concludes that in the main, philosophical studies have failed to keep pace with the advance of the several departments of knowledge whose internal relations it is its province to determine. If this is so, even the logic of classification of sciences, attempted by Comte, Spencer, Wundt, Grasserie, and others, and some degree of which is basal for every kind of curriculum of study, has failed, and shows only the *res angusta domi* of the systematizer's mind.

Inductive logic, too, it must be confessed with sorrow, has not proven its academic viability. Although taught extensively in the text-books of Bain, Jevons, and Fowler, the deductive forms, still deemed so valuable for the clergyman and lawyer, are now far more widely taught in this country in text-books like Davis, Coppe, Schuyler, Tigert, Whately, McCosh, and Bowen. Its value in Christian evidences, theism, or natural theology as fields of its application (Wright, Fisher, Valentine, Jouin, Chadbourn, Barclay, Flint, Mulford, Peabody) is believed to be high. At any rate, it has lately gained ground, while the Hegelian logic, earnestly as it has been propagated, has barely a foothold, and the symbolic logic of De Morgan and Boole is too recondite.

My conclusion and belief is, that the educational value of logic is great, but now chiefly historical, and that it should be taught, if at all, by a text-book which could be easily made according to the following recipe. On the basis of the histories of logic by Ueberweg and Prantl, the

history of categories by Trendelenberg, of ideas by Heyder, and of metaphysical problems by Eucken, the story of logical idealism from Plato to Abelard should be concisely told. This is at the very least the great romance of the human intelligence up to that date. From there onward the inductive era should be sketched with copious but concise details, including a description of graphic and statistical methods, the doctrine of probabilities, which has been well called "good sense reduced to calculation," something about standards, constants, symbols, substitutions, analogy, continuity, how to observe, test, simplify, vary, hypothesis, classification, averages and means, nomenclature and fallacies, but all concrete, with method never taught apart from matter of as high educational value as possible. By some such way logic could serve better than it now does, two of the great ends of education; its inductive side would open the eye-gate and the ear-gate, and teach the great lesson of careful observation, which so few learn, bring our academic youth so close to nature and give them the ideal of the broadest possible basis of experience, and that in its season [instead of allowing them to go through life color-blind or note-deaf, as I think no child need to be], and make them susceptible and responsive, far more than they are, to every faintest suggestion from facts. Deduction should teach them to knit the soul and brain together. The syllogism and sorites are of course at best only a rough preliminary darning stitch, but any path however rough between one part of the brain and another, strengthens a thought plexus that has great staying and steadying power. I think that severe sequent thinking may somehow mediate an exchange between brain points of high and those of low pressure, interchanging between areas of excessive and defective neural energy and tension, and thus make for sanity as well as growth. However this may be, it would be better yet, I am coming to think, to drop logic entirely, or at least, save as an elective, and in its place to put a

vigorous training in some pure science studied for discipline as an incomparable field of applied logic. The professor should know logic and spice each dish with it, but a little serious and special training in a good laboratory or seminary brings the mind to a sharper focus and gives it a better logical temper, and fits for success in any vocation better than the same time spent on any kind of logic. This I think is now the tendency of opinion.

Ethics was the second branch of philosophy to attain academic prominence in this country. Although taught from the first, it was only after the revivalism, which began in 1740, and often despite its influence, that it slowly advanced to a place beside, and then above, logic. Unlike logic it has acquired a distinctively American form and more than any other collegiate department represents the national *εθος γ νομος*. At first it was chiefly theological, virtue was likeness to God, His will was the supreme warrant for duty, and religious sins like impenitence, prayerlessness, unbelief, were dwelt upon. In this respect there was little change from More's *Enchiridion* down through the moralists of the latter part of the 17th and most of the 18th century to Paley, whose *Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy* reached a tenth American edition in 1821. Almost the only progress in Ethics was the tediously controversial transition from the view that morality was a code of laws which God revealed in Scripture, to the view that his code was best studied in the innate intuitions and sentiments of man. Thus Clarke, Shaftesbury, Cudworth, Hutcheson, and even Adam Smith, Beattie, and Mackintosh who often seem dreary and obsolete, really humanized ethics by transferring its criteria from the arbitrary behest of an extra mundane being to the same inner oracle that Socrates revered.

Two decades before the Declaration of Independence, which owes so much to this movement, our ethical textbooks began again, as they had rarely done since Aristotle,

to expatiate upon political rights and duties that though few were inalienable. The moral man again became a political animal and the duties of citizens to the State, and nations to each other, were laid down in a way that anticipated the political ethics of Lieber. This has been done in most American text-books since, even the good old Quaker Dymond almost justifying war. James Burgh's *Dignity of Human Nature*, although written in the second quarter of the 18th century, was published in several American editions fifty years later.

McBride's *Principles of Morality*, dedicated to Dr. Rush, Boston, 1796, is one of the first text-books on ethics with physiological references. The Unitarian movement, with its belief in good works, and which entered the academic field through Channing's translation of Jouffroy, has vastly enlarged the scope of ethics in our colleges. The anti-slavery movement and many other reforms, so peculiar to our American life, have all left their mark upon college ethics and no doubt owe much that is best in them to it. Text-books have never increased so fast in number as during the last few years. The teacher can now choose between two or three score of books, some, like Gow, Comyges, Yonge, are chiefly inspiring records of good and great deeds or lives, like those the French government now specially authorize there. More, like Gregory, Bierblower, Hyde, treat each chief virtue or vice serially, with individual methods of grouping and classifying. In others, like Calderwood, Fowler, Green, Martineau, theory dominates. In neither logic, psychology, nor any branch of the great science of man, if in all combined, have there been so many text-books of American make as in ethics; while if we widen our view to include the scores of printed sermons, lecture courses, letters, guides, manuals and "own books" addressed to young men or young women, of ethical import, we shall realize that we have here an American specialty equalled in no other age or land. We seem either to

have had exceptional causes to feel solicitous about the young, or else to be a nation of unusual pedagogical proclivities. To understand this peculiar national manifestation we must look to a recently developed field of anthropology where, I think, the cause becomes apparent.

Education, as a public, as distinct from a family, function, has begun in nearly all races with puberty. Most savage tribes mark its advent by rites, ceremonies, and initiations, often the most elaborate and solemn of life. The youth now gets a personal name, is scarred, tattooed with the totem of the tribe, loses teeth, a finger joint, or undergoes a prescribed period of solitude, hunger, or torture. Among civilized races, the Greek, Russian, Catholic, Lutheran, and Episcopal Churches confirm after a special discipline of mind and heart. The pubescent in ancient Greece became a cadet, an *ephebos*, and perhaps received a mentor or inspirer. At this period, as Sir Henry Maine shows, Roman guardianship ended. From two careful, but not yet very extended, collections of statistics it appears that a larger per cent. of conversions occur during the early teens than at any other period. Thus its recognition as an important era has been all but universal. In all countries where its history can be traced to an indigenous origin, public education has begun with puberty and has developed downward toward the kindergarten and upward toward the university or graduate course in proportion as civilization has advanced.

In this respect, the instincts of our nature have fitted its physiology. At this period all is solvent, plastic, vulnerable and formative. Previous individuality is broken up and its elements, with many new ones added from other roots of the family tree, mosaiced together on a new plan. Hence the need of that shelter and safety which Mark Hopkins thought should be first of all sought. Not only new traits but new desires, passions, and often diseases now first appear. The more mongrel the stock or the more

numerous the strains of bloods of which it is composed, and the more unsettled the body of ethnic or national customs, traditions, and beliefs, the more critical does the whole adolescent period become. Pure stocks with settled ways and ideals, which pass this ferment safely and quickly, are at one extreme, and a composite nation like our own, with new and diverse models of thought and life, and everything unsettled, is open to unparalleled dangers of arrested development. Any one of many elements may get precocious control and destroy that poise or temperance which Aristotle made the chief of virtues. It is a universal law of growth that every faculty, whether of sense or mind, is developed before the power of controlling it. But if this period of adolescent immaturity is exceptionally prolonged and dangerous here, the possibilities of ultimate and complete manhood are correspondingly greater. The treatment or economic utilization of the vital force given us in these years of physiological regeneration as our life capital, is the life problem in which all higher pedagogic wisdom culminates. Indeed, in a sense, not only education but civilization is tested by the regimen which it affords adolescence, which has a physiological duration of at least a decade. The Hindoos developed its natural dreaminess, the ancient Persians its nascent pugnacity, the Greeks applied physical training in the great games, the Romans cadenced the soul with rhetoric and oratory, the Jesuits appealed chiefly to the instincts of rivalry and competition, so strong at this age, the Germans up to a generation or two ago applied speculative philosophy and aroused a type of romantic enthusiasm among students which has had a profound effect upon the national life; the old American college course developed a treatment which was as original as it was well adapted to its conditions, by giving a general view or periscope over many subjects at first and culminating, in the last year or two of the course, in ethics, generally taught

by the President and made the most serious and personal of all studies.

Now, a deeper sense of personal purity or impurity is possible than ever before. There is also a natural prodigality and fluctuation of emotion, so that while the senses and intellect rarely become insane at this time the emotional nature is peculiarly prone to both defect and perversion; and the worst of it is, these aberrations are hardest to detect and worse in their effects upon after life. The rapidly forming new tissue must be irrigated with blood, the whole body is never so erethic, young men are by nature orgiastic and must have excitement; if they cannot get it in the high form of intellectual enthusiasm they are more likely to get it in the sphere of drink or sex, or both. The higher love is a kind of kinetic or clinical equivalent of the lower, and if the soul cannot climb up some such a ladder as Plato described in his symposium it is more likely to grovel and twine about what is lowest and worst. The powers which ascend highest are rooted the lowest in our animal nature.

To apply here a transcendental supernatural cult that shall incline young men to regard duties as of the highest or divine origin is simply to appeal to that three-fourths of life that is instinctive and emotional, the development of which precedes and conditions that of the intellect, and can be stirred deeply only if dimly. To be solely logical and rationalistic is to appeal to a part of our nature yet weak and nascent. I would not bring back the day of the Admirable Convert of Baxter's Call, but, both as a physiologist and a teacher, I am convinced that several of the latest text-books in ethics, which urge that our current morality is but a survival of a faith now dead, that seriously discuss the worth of life and apply a hedonistic calculus, that leaves happiness merely a duty to be desperately performed, do not make for poise and sanity in a land of Americanists. Probably young men's nerves are now rarely tonic enough to play again those awful and soul-quaking old anthems of

Socratic conviction of ignorance or Calvinistic conviction of sin. But although the higher religious life be more and more conceived as a growth and less as a sudden conquest or the irruption of an alien principle, I think we must admit the need of rousing the deepest and strongest sense of the mystery and sacredness at the heart of things at this period of life. If the young once have an experience of loving God, or duty, or truth, with intensity and passion, it not only performs a larger mental sphere but is an alterative of degraded love and inebriation. If the sole function of belief were to keep the heart strong, warm, and healthy, and prevent it from growing pessimistic, indifferent, decadent, it would make for virtue, which to be pure must be passionate at first. The best thing about *real* youth is that it will not devote itself to anything it feels to be trivial, insincere, or of anything but the highest worth and interest.

Moral inculcation in a democracy like ours should be based not on tradition but upon human nature. It alone is true and everything else is good and true in exact proportion as it squares with and helps to unfold it. It should begin with the body, with regimen, hygiene, and physical training. In athletic enthusiasm lie vast moral resources which the new higher anthropology is just beginning to see how to develop. The æsthetic elements of reverence, love of nature, art—not for art's sake—a bastard offspring of science—but for goodness' sake, fields for training in unselfish activity, impregnation with the germs of manifold reforms, a little inebriation with ideals,—something like this which cannot be marked or examined on should come next. Later and on such a basis should come the cooler survey of the great moral forces that rule the world and some more detailed study of personal, social and political duties. Nothing throughout the entire educational system should take precedence of this, which should give tone to it from bottom to top. I grow more fearful of intricating the plain natural sense of right and wrong by speculative

ethical subtleties;—a method that originated with other races and ethnic stocks to meet very different needs and times from our own. I have taught these things long myself, but have come to believe our ancestors were right and did not overestimate this need in any department of our national or private life. If knowledge does not make for virtue, better idyllic ignorance of even the belauded invention of Cadmus. This unique American problem of ethical training we must work out for ourselves, and with the new scientific reënforcements now at hand I am optimist enough to believe we shall find or make a way to do it.

The third and last field, that of psychology, which was opened, as we have seen, at Yale, with Edwards and Berkeley, can be here treated very briefly. As Berkeley's problem widened into Hume's scepticism and that went on to Kant and the heroic age of German philosophy, American professors drew back. The Scotch philosophy represented by Reid, Stewart, Brown, and Hamilton, opened a far safer way. The "common sense," which was its watchword, contained an immediate conviction of right and wrong, of the reality of the external world, freedom, etc., about which there was no need or warrant for debate or doubt, while its discussion of association, desire, will, and feeling, was lucidity itself, and fitted our practical country and had a wider vogue here than in Scotland itself. In this form psychology was very widely introduced in American colleges. Its right or conservative wing, still represented at Princeton by Ex-President McCosh, has a good deal of claim to bear the title he gives it of the American philosophy. It has no quarrel with religion, is not unsettling, is full of stimulus to the young, and opens but does not close the mind against future growth. Its left wing, represented by John Stuart Mill, and which has since his death sought to make common cause with the positivism of Comte, has celebrated but few academic triumphs in this country.

Here, too, belongs the eclecticism of Cousin, early translated and first used as a text-book in Philadelphia.

A very different root of modern psychology is traced in the transcendental movement, the germs of which came from Kant, Herder, Goethe, Schelling, Fichte, Jacobi, and others through Coleridge. This marvellous movement may well be compared to the Platonic movement in ancient Greece in that it was a sudden diversion from all previous and indigenous thought and not essentially national. Although it began and ended in less than two decades here, it was the American equivalent of the entire period of German idealism, no feature of which is wanting in the American miniature. God was resolved into nature, nature into man, and, more lately, man into the consciousness of the present moment only to be re-evolved. We are spirits bathing in a sea of deity—man is an embryo God. Plato's ingenuous youth Theætetus had a less voracious appetite for the "boiled cobwebs" of solipsistic speculation than the academic would-be adepts in these times. Transcendentalism itself never entered the regular academic course save in a very adumbrated way in the text-books of Hickock, but was amazingly fructifying, and is yet, from without. It had marvellous power of enfranchisement and quickened the intellectual life of the country as no other movement has yet done. Years after it had passed, there grew up, in connection with a new interest in the history of philosophy, in St. Louis, around William T. Harris, a group of active minded idealists who sought to do over again the transcendental movement with more detail and with greater fidelity to its Teutonic sources. The Concord Summer School was an abortive attempt to graft the new western movement upon the dead transcendental stock. The cry back to Kant led here, as in England and Germany, to growing academic interest in what is called the "theory of knowledge," or the doctrine of reality, which has lately found a stronghold in several of our leading colleges and universities. It

exercises a strange fascination over the minds of young men at that period when serious questions about existence, *ego*, soul, etc., first flit through every mind. Its method is introspective and it is open to all the dangers of introverted mental habits. It is as barren of what Bacon called fruits as the speculations or "final cause" which he condemned. If it gives limberness and flexibility to the mind, it wages eternal war against everything that is naïve, instinctive and spontaneous. It is un-American in origin and anti-American in spirit.

The last psychological departure, although it goes back to the days of Abercrombie, Rush, etc., began with the establishment of the first laboratory for experimental psychology in Baltimore in 1881. Something had been done in these lines previously in Germany, but the time was ripe and the soil fertile. It is already represented in two-score of the best institutions. It reduces introspection to a perfectly controlled system by means of suitable apparatus; has already a voluminous literature; several hundred standard new experiments; and offers to-day, an unsurpassed training in applied logic. It studies the instincts of animals from the highest to the lowest, and finds them both as diverse and with as fixed and characteristic traits as the anatomical structure. It shows how the highest intuitions of reason and conscience are rooted in the lowest animal instincts and are thus in little danger of collapse if external authoritative supports are removed. It studies the myths, customs, and beliefs of primitive man, and is giving the wide field of anthropology due academic scope and influence. It devotes itself to the study of insanity and nervous diseases, and has already begun to introduce new methods and utilize new results. It has a special department of neurology for exploiting all the properties of brain, nerve, and sense, and the field of its practical application is as wide as education in its largest philosophical sense. As we have seen, it has transformed and shaped

the problems of logic and ethics; is slowly re-writing the whole history of philosophy, and, in the opinion of many of its more sanguine devotees, is showing itself not only to be the long hoped for, long delayed science of man, to which all other sciences are bringing their ripest and best thoughts, but is introducing a period that will be known hereafter as the psychological era of scientific thought, even more than a few recent decades have been marked by evolution. It has not yet overcome all prejudices, but has already begun to rebase religion, the moral and social instincts, as well as education, upon deeper as well as more ineluctable foundations. No academic activity has ever appeared so directly in the line of all that is most national in our intellectual development. It is asking the old question, what is man, in many new ways, and giving, bit by bit, new and deeper answers in a way that I deem it not too much to say makes every prospect of our own national future and of the republican type of government generally, brighter, and promises to be a realization of all that the old professors of logic, ethics, and religion, in their best days, dimly strove for,—and more.

NOTE.—Valuable suggestions of additional sources of information and new data have been kindly sent by Rev. Dr. Cyrus Hamlin, and especially by Rev. Dr. George E. Ellis, which I have had no time to utilize in the present article, but shall incorporate later in a much fuller treatment of the subject which is contemplated.

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NOTE.—Although I have been many years engaged upon this bibliography, I am well aware that it is not complete. Its greatest defect is the lack of the Christian names of the authors in many cases. Not a few of these have been supplied with much care and pains by Miss Mary Robinson, of the Library of the American Antiquarian Society, to whom I am glad hereby to acknowledge my obligations. G. S. H.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending April 1, 1894.

The Publishing Fund has been drawn upon more heavily than usual, owing to the fact that the cost of publishing the "Proceedings" for the whole year has been paid during the past six months.

The Bookbinding Fund also shows a decrease, the expense for binding newspapers and periodicals having been nearly three times the income for the six months.

The Chandler Fund, of \$500, has been drawn upon for the purchase of genealogical works, and now shows a balance of \$496.55, but the receipt of money for copies of the "Chandler Family" volumes lately sold will more than make up the deficiency.

The books, manuscripts, paintings and other valuable matter in the Society's building are insured for \$20,000 and the building itself for \$6,500. While this amount may seem small, considering the value of the property, it has been thought the chances of fire and the damage resulting therefrom would also be small.

From the income received on the investments the past six months, the usual dividend of three per cent. has been carried to the several Funds.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$819.01.

The total of the investments and cash on hand April 1, 1894, was \$117,429.38. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,	\$39,187.68
The Collection and Research Fund,	18,838.72
The Bookbinding Fund,	5,945.85
The Publishing Fund,	24,290.37
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,	7,738.31
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,	3,717.94
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,	1,045.78
The Salisbury Building Fund,	5,241.06
The Alden Fund,	1,191.54
The Tenney Fund,	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,	1,123.21
The George Chandler Fund,	496.55
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,	2,587.03
Premium Account,	256.88
Income Account,	819.01
	<hr/>
	\$117,429.38

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$1,657.59.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending April 1, 1894, is as follows :

DR.

1893. Oct. 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,	\$6,448.95
1894. April 1.	Received for interest to date,	2,861.31
" "	Received for annual assessments,	55.00
" "	Life memberships,	150.00
" "	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	114.85
" "	Bonds sold (Central Pacific R. R.),	2,000.00
" "	Premium on bonds sold,	100.00
" "	Bank tax refunded,	391.74
		<hr/>
		\$12,116.85

CR.

By salaries to April 1, 1894,	\$1,775.00
Expense on account of publication,	888.45
Books purchased,	125.10
For binding,	486.00
Incidental expenses,	206.19
Investments,	6,900.00
Interest on account of investment,	55.00
Deposited in savings bank,	23.52
	<hr/>
	\$10,459.26
Balance in cash April 1, 1894,	1,657.59
	<hr/>
	\$12,116.85

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, October 1, 1893,	\$39,035.38	
Income to April 1, 1894,	1,171.06	
Transferred from Tenney Fund,	150.00	
Life memberships,	150.00	
	<u>\$40,506.44</u>	
Paid for salaries,	\$1,191.66	
Incidental expenses,	177.10	
	<u>\$1,368.76</u>	
1894, April 1. Amount of Fund,		\$39,137.68

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$18,823.14	
Income to April 1, 1894,	564.84	
	<u>\$19,387.98</u>	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals, ..	554.26	
1894, April 1. Amount of Fund,		\$18,833.72

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$6,309.25	
Income to April 1, 1894,	189.27	
	<u>\$6,498.52</u>	
Paid for binding, etc.,	552.67	
1894, April 1. Amount of Fund,		\$5,945.85

The Publishing Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$24,372.64	
Income to April 1, 1894,	731.18	
Publications sold,	75.00	
	<u>\$25,178.82</u>	
Paid on account of printing "Proceedings,"	888.45	
Balance April 1, 1894,		\$24,290.37

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$7,512.92	
Income to April 1, 1894,	225.39	
Balance April 1, 1894,		\$7,738.31

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$3,609.65	
Income to April 1, 1894,	108.29	
Balance April 1, 1894,		\$3,717.94

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$1,038.24	
Income to April 1, 1894,	31.14	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,069.38	
Paid for books,	23.60	
	<hr/>	
Balance April 1, 1894,		\$1,045.78

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$5,088.42	
Income to April 1, 1894,	152.64	
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Balance April 1, 1894,		\$5,241.06

The Alden Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$1,156.84	
Income to April 1, 1894,	34.70	
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Balance April 1, 1894,		\$1,191.54

The Tenney Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$5,000.00	
Income to April 1, 1894,	150.00	
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	\$5,150.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,	150.00	
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Balance April 1, 1894,		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$1,107.74	
Income to April 1, 1894,	33.23	
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	\$1,140.97	
Paid for books,	17.76	
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Balance April 1, 1894,		\$1,123.21

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$549.89	
Income to April 1, 1894,	16.50	
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	\$566.39	
Paid for books,	69.84	
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Balance April 1, 1894,		\$496.55

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance October 1, 1893,	\$2,516.92	
Income to April 1, 1894,	75.51	
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	\$2,592.43	
Paid for books,	5.40	
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Balance April 1, 1894,		\$2,587.03

Total of the thirteen funds,		\$116,354.04
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,		256.33
Balance to the credit of Income Account,		819.01
	<hr/>	
April 1, 1894, total,		\$117,429.38

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	\$ 600.00	\$ 888.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,	2,200.00	3,234.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,	1,000.00	1,340.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	385.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	500.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,792.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,	600.00	702.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,	500.00	565.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,	2,400.00	2,904.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	5,290.00
33	Webster National Bank, Boston,	3,300.00	2,990.00
31	Worcester National Bank,	3,100.00	4,588.00
Total of Bank Stock,		\$23,000.00	\$28,078.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,	\$3,000.00	\$4,440.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,	500.00	790.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	1,250.00	1,915.00
BONDS.			
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,	3,000.00	3,120.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,	3,300.00	3,630.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	2,272.50
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,	5,000.00	5,050.00
	City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,	5,400.00	5,520.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,	58,950.00	58,950.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	371.79	371.79
	Cash in National Bank on interest,	1,657.59	1,657.59
		\$117,429.38	\$124,794.88

WORCESTER, Mass., April 17, 1894.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,

Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to April 1, 1894, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.

A. G. BULLOCK.

April 17, 1894.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

THE Committee on the Library, which consists of our President and Treasurer, remains as originally constituted in 1881. The advantages of such continuous counsel and oversight are obvious, but perhaps no one sees them more clearly than the Librarian. Circumstances beyond our control have somewhat delayed the work upon the card catalogue, but, in general, there has been a forward movement all along the lines of work and service. A four months' leave of absence, from January 6, 1894, having been granted Miss Whitcomb, her place has been temporarily taken by Miss Mary F. Goodwin, who has proved a faithful substitute.

One of the rarest and, it may be added, one of the wisest of the Society's publications, has just been reprinted. It is numbered nine on Mr. Paine's list which was printed in 1881 in connection with Mr. Salisbury's Partial Index to the first series of our Proceedings. A line title thereof follows: "An | Address | delivered at | Worcester, | August 24, 1820, | before the American Antiquarian Society, | at the opening of the | Antiquarian Hall, | that day received as a donation from | the President of the Society. | By Isaac Goodwin. | Worcester: | Printed by Manning and Trumbull, Sept. 1820." While Mr. Goodwin was not a charter member of the Society, he was elected in 1814 and faithfully recognized his membership until his death on September 16, 1832, at the age of forty-six. He was a Councillor, 1825-1832. Two or three paragraphs from the address are given, as showing not only the curious foresight of one who had at heart the welfare of the Society,

but also its definite purpose, as declared nearly seventy-five years ago. Mr. Goodwin said :—

“Let the favourable auspices that have attended the establishment of this National Institution here, be a new bond of union for us. Let us constantly remember that the same causes may hereafter mark this as the most suitable location for other important establishments ; and continue to attract to this as a common centre, the learning, the opulence, and the hospitality that pre-eminently distinguish this among the villages of our country.”

Referring to the library and cabinet, he remarked :—

“To these treasures the historian of this and future ages will resort for a knowledge of every circumstance connected with American Annals.”

It is worthy of note that while this address was in press, it was my privilege to welcome the author's daughter—Mrs. Jane Goodwin Austin—to Antiquarian Hall, to which she came not only in loving memory of her father, but to pay her tribute of respect to the Society. It was fitting that the gifted author of the Pilgrim novels should here find at work Mrs. Alice Morse Earle, a kindred historic spirit, whose works are so favorably known. Her own life work was nearly done. Mrs. Austin's lamented death in Boston, on March 30, 1894, at the age of 63, has been announced. The tributes paid to the author of “Standish of Standish,” etc., should not fail to recognize her inherited as well as her cultivated love of early New England life.

Following are the usual library statistics: From two hundred and fifteen givers—the largest number ever reported—namely, forty-nine members, one hundred and forty-five persons not members, and one hundred and twenty-one societies and institutions, we have received nine hundred and fifty-four books, thirty-three hundred and fourteen pamphlets, fifteen bound and one hundred and forty-four volumes of unbound newspapers, one hundred and twelve photographs, nine coins, eight maps, four manuscript volumes, four portraits, and four book-plates. By exchange,

fifty-three books and one hundred and thirty-one pamphlets ; and from the bindery, one hundred and eighty-eight volumes of newspapers and fifty volumes of magazines, making a total semi-annual accession to April 15 of ten hundred and fifty-seven books, thirty-four hundred and forty-five pamphlets, two hundred and three bound and one hundred and forty-four volumes of unbound newspapers, etc.

Mr. Andrew McF. Davis has supplied us with his " Historical Work in Massachusetts," as reprinted from volume one of the publications of The Colonial Society of Massachusetts. That portion which relates to the American Antiquarian Society will be found on pages 19-24. Dr. George E. Francis has added fifteen photographs to our illustrations of the War of the Rebellion period, and has increased their value by the accompanying statement: " The photographs of gunboats of the Mississippi Squadron of the United States Navy, were taken by Dr. George H. Bixby, Surgeon of U. S. S. Hospital ship *Red Rover*, during the years 1861 and 1862, principally. The difficulties of such work by amateurs were very great, owing to the nature of the processes then employed ; and the work is very creditable." Vice-President Hoar's gift includes not only photographs of old English charters of Gloucestershire, but the negatives from which they were printed. They have been deposited in our steel safe. The alcove of local history has been enriched by Col. Solomon Lincoln, who immediately upon its publication placed therein the exhaustive four-volume " History of the Town of Hingham, Massachusetts." There has also been added to this department by the author, " History of Harvard, Massachusetts, 1732-1893, by Henry S. Nourse, A.M. Harvard : printed for Warren Hapgood, 1894." I desire to connect with this acknowledgment the following business-like and suggestive directions to the author by Mr. Hapgood, the patron of the work :

" In case my decease occurs before the work is finished,

it is my wish that you have a sufficient number of copies printed and bound—say three hundred—to give each deserving family in the town of Harvard, and one each to a few libraries where it will be of value. If all the copies are not thus disposed of, it is my wish that the remainder be deposited in the public library of Harvard, to be bestowed from time to time by the managers of that institution as they may deem advisable. All reasonable charges for writing, printing, binding, and distributing the book will be cheerfully paid by me or by my executors, and this letter will be sufficient order to them for that purpose.”

Mr. Henry W. Taft has sent us for preservation Daniel Webster's personal, printed copy of his famous Andover speech of November 10, 1843. It contains marginal notes and corrections by his own hand, and there is an endorsement to that effect by Mr. M. S. Bidwell of New York. Hon. John D. Washburn has added to our medallion collection. His gift includes three medals issued by order of the Swiss government to celebrate the six hundredth anniversary of the birth of the Republic. Rare beauty of design and perfectness of execution are most happily blended in these works of art. Contributions to this interesting department are always welcome, whether of originals or reproductions, and are earnestly solicited from members and others.

Dr. William F. Poole's last gift to the library was his North Western University Phi Beta Kappa address of last June on “The University Library and the University Curriculum.” *The Dial*, of Chicago, March 1, 1894—the day of his death—says: “Dr. Poole could not write a dull page if he tried and these particular pages are in his most vigorous and breezy manner.” It has been well said by another Chicago writer: “Personally Dr. Poole differs from many scholars, in that he is a genial gentleman, an earnest citizen, and a man who in conversation can enlist the interest of his hearer in any topic from the most weighty to the most commonplace.” To these words, written while

he was living, I add a remark made since his death, by one who knew him well both as scholar and librarian: "His tastes were essentially scholarly, and no pursuit was so congenial to him as the collecting of rare and valuable books, unless it was the making them useful to others. He never lost sight of the fundamental principle that books are meant to be used; that their chief end is not attained when they are catalogued and shelved." Reference to the important part he took in the first conference of librarians ever held—namely, that of 1853 in New York—will be found in a paper read by your librarian, July 7, 1886, at the Milwaukee Conference of Librarians. At the New York meeting he was associated with such educators as Samuel Foster Haven and Edward Everett Hale. We may well remember that he had both a desire and an intention to do important literary work for this Society when the Newberry Library should be firmly established in the home which he had practically designed for it. His study of the witchcraft problem and literature, had led him to hope that he might edit with notes our Cotton Mather manuscript account of the case of Mercy Short. But, after all, his great work will be known as "Poole's Index to Periodical Literature," though Mr. William I. Fletcher—now librarian of Amherst College—was associate editor of the co-operative edition. I was told by Mr. Alfred Plant, of St. Louis, Mo., that both he and Mr. John Edmands—now librarian of the Mercantile Library of Philadelphia—assisted in the preparation of the manuscript of the first edition, namely that of 1848. Messrs. Edmands and Plant were graduated from Yale in the class of 1847. A contemporary account of this edition may be found in the *Yale Literary Magazine*, for June, 1848, on page 327 of volume 13. See also our Proceedings, Vol. V., new series, pp. 223, 224, for further references thereto. I will only add a characteristic paragraph from Dr. Poole's preface to the edition of 1853:—

"If the preparation of this work had been delayed until

a plan had been fixed upon that reconciled all objections, it would never have been commenced; or if the labor had been continued until the work was satisfactory to myself, it would never have been presented to the public."

I have taken the liberty of including in the count of book givers, those members living or dead whose special, invested funds are such happy and constant reminders of their wise benefactions. Mr. Walter R. Benjamin, of New York, has returned to the Society—more than three-quarters of a century after it was written—the official application of Samuel M. Burnside, Corresponding Secretary, sent December 17, 1817, to His Excellency Charles Ridgeley, Governor of Maryland, asking for the State documents. Along with the old style formality, there is in it an urgent, as well as expectant, tone, which the Society has not wholly outgrown. It should be said of Mrs. Penelope Lincoln Canfield's gift that it, as usual, consists of the best editions of choice books, bought with special reference to their fitness for our library. A contribution to our alcove of Slavery and Rebellion—unique and valuable—is gratefully acknowledged. It is a bound volume of 510 pages—including an admirable index—from Mr. Alonzo S. Cushman, of Oxford, Massachusetts. The following title-page will best indicate its character, though not the beauty of execution: "Soldiers' Letters | during the Civil War; | Consisting of | Two Hundred and Fifty-Eight Letters, Diaries, &c., from four | Soldiers of 1861–65, viz. | Izenart P. Cushman, Co. H, 18th Connecticut. | George P. Burrows, Co. I, 8th Vermont. | Alonzo S. Cushman, Co. H, 11th Connecticut. | David F. Cushman, Co. A, 18th Connecticut. | Oxford, Mass. | 1893." His short preface, which was written in Oxford, February 15, 1893, is so suggestive that it is here given:

"I have copied these letters in the hope that in this form they may be a long time preserved. In the original, written hastily, sometimes with a hard lead pencil, they are now, in places, hard to decipher, and become, every time they are opened, more and more so. I have included here

every letter known to be in existence written by these four soldiers during their term of service. Those not in my mother's possession were borrowed for this purpose. The letters here included are completely and accurately copied. The punctuation, however, is my own, and I have had to correct a few misspelled words, but I have not attempted to remedy grammatical errors. Should this book be long preserved, it may be of interest to note the lasting qualities of the ink used. It was made by dissolving in a quart of hot rain water, one-half ounce of extract of logwood and ten grains bichromate of potash."¹

Mr. G. Stewart Dickinson continues his gifts of rare coins, the face value of which is of no small consideration. We have received from Mr. Ferdinand J. Dreer one of two hundred copies of his Catalogue of the famous Collection of Autographs formed by him and wisely presented to the Historical Society of Pennsylvania for preservation in their fire-proof treasure house. In the introduction Mr. Dreer says: "Private epistles not intended for the public eye, are like nuggets of gold in the gathered treasury of the historian." Our congratulations are tendered the Society upon its receipt—in the giver's lifetime—of this princely gift. Mr. Edwin Emery, who has had occasion in former years to use our library, has forwarded two boxes of material from which we have supplied some of our pressing needs. The duplicate National and State documents therein were at once returned to headquarters for redistribution. Mr. Charles Edgeworth Jones sends his "Political and Judicial Divisions of the Commonwealth of Georgia," which is dedicated "to my father, Colonel Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D." From Mr. Waldo Lincoln we have received a collection of philatelic material, with early numbers of our proceedings. Mrs. Samuel Foster Haven, executrix, has added fifty selected books to the Haven alcove. Perhaps the most interesting one of these is the volume marked "Class of 1852," which contains eighty-three faded but

¹ This combination will not make a permanent ink.

quaint photographs of the class of eighty-seven graduated that year at Harvard College. While no name of college or graduates appeared therein when received, the photograph of Samuel Foster Haven, Jr., gave the clue and his classmate Mr. Henry W. Brown has supplied all but two of the names. These two he has marked, probably Edwin Hedge Fay and John Emery Horr. To complete this set of early photographs—which are oval in form and $2\frac{1}{2} \times 1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size—we need those of Howard Payson Arnold, John Sylvester Goodwin, Ephraim Whitman Gurney, Jerome Bonaparte Kimball, and Knyvett Winthrop Sears. Possibly these were never printed. It has been suggested that the Harvard class of '52 was the first to exchange photographs. However this may be, it appears to have been the year in which the illustrative value of photography was first exhibited. The work thus illustrated was “Homes of American Authors,” and the author, Mr. George P. Putnam of New York. I note for indexing, the memorial of Dr. George Chandler received from his daughters, Mrs. A. George Bullock and Mrs. Waldo Lincoln; the gift of Mr. Alfred S. Roe author, of “Rose Neighborhood Sketches, Wayne County, N. Y.”; and from Mr. Charles F. Warner of “Picturesque Franklin and Hampden”—both for service rendered; of a valuable collection of Icelandic books from Mr. Frederick B. Harlow; American directories from Drew, Allis & Company; from Mr. Winslow S. Lincoln a large photograph of the old Foster Street Passenger Station in Worcester, Mass.; and from Mr. Thomas G. Kent a sample of such biographic material as we greatly desire, namely, the “History of Yale Class of 1851 for Forty Years,” of which he is a member.

The Worcester District Medical Society has transferred to our shelves a duplicate set of Zeimssen's Cyclopædia of the Practice of Medicine, in twenty volumes—and also the eighth edition of the Encyclopædia Britannica in twenty-two volumes. One has but to make an encyclopædic

study of any comparatively modern science—electricity for instance—to be convinced of the value of all editions in a library of this class. It should be known that the United States War Department has designated this library as one of the few to receive its elaborate work upon “The Uniform of the Army of the United States, 1774–1889.” It is beautifully illustrated in colors. Our set of the annuals of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions has been completed by the Board; and we are in receipt of much historical and scientific material in the more popular form of the quarterly or monthly periodical. This new departure of some of our older societies will be watched with interest.

I commend to your careful consideration the recently distributed “Roll of Members of the American Antiquarian Society, with a List of Officers, July, 1893.” The arrangement in order of election and by States represented in the Society, though unusual, is doubly suggestive. This is apparently the twelfth printed membership list. The eleven which preceded it bear the following dates: October 25, 1813; June 1, 1814; October 24, 1814; 1836, being pages 565–573 of *Archæologia Americana*, volume two; May 29, 1839; October 22, 1855; October, 1868; January 1, 1876; January 1, 1881; May 1, 1885; and January 1, 1890. Thus it appears that lists have been printed in the Collections and Proceedings quite irregularly, though of late about once in five years. They have generally, though not invariably, been reprinted. The lists of 1839 and 1855 are the most elaborate. They include all officers and members from our organization in 1812, the latter adding to the name and place of residence the date of decease and age. As the List of January, 1890, is the introduction to Proceedings, Volume VI., New Series, so that of July, 1893, is the preface to Volume VIII. of the same series.

I note, in closing, the character and condition of this organization seventy-five years ago as officially indicated

by its founders. In March, 1819, by vote of the Sub-Council, an address signed "Oliver Fiske, *per order*," was printed and a copy ordered to be sent to each member. From it and for the purpose above named I quote as follows: "There having been a large accession of members of the AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY since its objects were communicated, the Government of this National Institution residing in Massachusetts have judged it to be their duty to address a summary account of its principles and purposes to all who have been elected. Our institution in all its objects and concerns is intended and considered *National*. Its members are selected from all parts of the Union. Its respectability is inferred from its comprising men of the first standing and intelligence in the nation and some of the first distinction in other countries. Most other societies, although of a benevolent and useful character, are necessarily limited in their views and duration. The objects of this Institution are commensurate with the lapse of time and its benefits will be more and more accumulating in the progression of ages. . . . Thus by an attention to these objects which the Society hope to promote by the exertion of its members residing in various sections of this vast Continent, the utility of the Institution will speedily be realized and may in time vie with similar institutions in Europe, which are now so justly celebrated. Each individual of the Society, we persuade ourselves, will imbibe a belief that much of its reputation and usefulness depends on his individual efforts. Although the Society is in its infancy, we are happy to announce that it is expanding into manly growth, and with due patronage and exertion will become pre-eminently useful."

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,

Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

- ADAMS, CHARLES FRANCIS, Quincy.—Account of the formation of the Quincy Historical Society.
- BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—Papers and Proceedings of the American Library Association, Nos. 4, 6-11, 14, 15; twenty pamphlets; seven photographs; and "St. Andrew's Cross," in continuation.
- BOURINOT, JOHN G., D.C.L., Ottawa, Canada.—His "Canada's Intellectual Strength and Weakness."
- BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Five of his own publications.
- BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—"Southern Historical Society Papers," Vol. XXI., edited by Mr. Brock; and Virginia newspapers.
- CHASE, CHARLES A., Worcester.—Eighteen pamphlets; and various circulars.
- CHILDS, GEORGE W., Philadelphia, Pa.—The Public Ledger Almanac, 1894; and one pamphlet.
- DAVIS, ANDREW McF., Cambridge.—Three of his own publications; two facsimiles; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Three books; fifty-three pamphlets; and one map.
- DAVIS, Hon. J. C. BANCROFT, Washington, D. C.—His "Mr. Fish and the Alabama Claims"; and Hittell's "George Bancroft and his Services to California."
- DEXTER, Prof. FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—His brochure "On Some Social Distinctions at Harvard and Yale before the Revolution."
- EAMES, WILBERFORCE, New York.—"Carta Sexta de Hernando Cortes," privately printed by George Folsom.
- FIRTH, CHARLES H., Oxford, Eng.—"The Legacy of John Wilmer," London, 4to, 1692.
- FRANCIS, GEORGE E., M.D., Worcester.—Fifteen photographs of naval vessels of the war of 1861-65; and two books.
- GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., Baltimore, Md.—His "Johns Hopkins University from 1873 to 1898"; and his Annual Report, 1898, as President.

- GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., New York.—His “Preservation of the Historic City Hall of New York.”
- GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., M.D., Boston.—Six of his own publications; fifteen books; two hundred and eighty-five pamphlets; two maps; three files of newspapers; and one proclamation.
- HALE, Rev. EDWARD E., D.D., Roxbury.—Fifteen numbers of “Lend a Hand” to complete set.
- HALL, Rev. EDWARD H., Cambridge.—A volume of his discourses.
- HARDEN, WILLIAM, Savannah, Ga.—One pamphlet.
- HILL, HAMILTON A., LL.D., Boston.—Two of his brochures; two books; and one pamphlet.
- HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D., Hartford, Conn.—“Register and Manual of the State of Connecticut, 1894”; and two proclamations.
- HOAR, Hon. GEORGE F., Worcester.—His “Executive Usurpation”; five photographs of old English Charters of Gloucestershire with the negatives; one book; twenty-eight pamphlets; and three files of newspapers, in continuation.
- HOYT, ALBERT H., Boston.—“Presentation to the town of Brookline of a Memorial Portrait of Gen. Edward Augustus Wild.”
- HUNTINGTON, Rev. WILLIAM R., D.D., New York.—His Baccalaureate Sermon at Trinity College, 1898.
- LEA, HENRY CHARLES, LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Ecclesiastical Treatment of Usury”; and his “Occult Compensation.”
- JAMESON J. FRANKLIN, Ph.D., Providence, R. I.—“The Development of the Nominating Convention in Rhode Island,” by Neil Andrews.
- LINCOLN, SOLOMON, Boston.—History of Hingham, Massachusetts, four volumes.
- MASON, EDWARD G., Chicago, Ill.—“Unveiling of the Memorial Group of the Chicago Massacre of 1812,” containing Mr. Mason’s address; and one pamphlet.
- MARSH, Hon. HENRY A., Worcester.—His Second Inaugural Address, Jan. 1, 1894.
- MEAD, EDWIN D., Boston.—Six facsimiles of the title-page to Ainsworth’s Psalms, 1612 Edition.
- NOURSE, Hon. HENRY S., Lancaster.—His “History of the Town of Harvard, Massachusetts, 1732-1898.”
- PAIGE, Rev. LUCIUS R., D.D., Cambridgeport.—His address before Amicable Lodge, October 18, 1855; and one pamphlet.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL, Worcester.—Thirty-one books; two hundred and ninety-five pamphlets; two files of newspapers; and one blue print.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Ph.D., Good Hope, Ill.—His “American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal,” as issued.

PERRY, Rt. Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D., Davenport, Iowa.—Four of his addresses; two pamphlets; and the “Iowa Churchman,” as issued.

POOLE, WILLIAM F., LL.D., Chicago, Ill.—His “University Library and University Curriculum”; “The Dial,” as issued; and two newspapers.

PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G., Dorchester.—“One hundred and eighteenth Anniversary of the Settlement of New Jersey by the Germans.”

PUTNAM, Prof. FREDERIC W., Cambridge.—His “Report to Harvard University of the Exhibit of the Peabody Museum of American Archaeology and Ethnology at the Chicago Exposition.”

ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO, *Record Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—“The Early Records of the Town of Providence,” Vols. III. and IV.

SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Ober’s “In the Wake of Columbus”; six books; seven files of newspapers; and a collection of foreign and domestic programmes.

SMITH, CHARLES C., Boston.—His report of 1894 as Treasurer of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

SMYTH, Rev. EGBERT C., D.D., Andover.—Catalogue of Andover Theological Seminary, 1893-4.

TAFT, HENRY W., Pittsfield.—Daniel Webster’s Speech at Andover, Nov. 10, 1843, with his marginal notes and corrections; and two pamphlets.

WALKER, FRANCIS A., LL.D., Boston.—His Annual Address, 1893, as President of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

WASHBURN, Hon. JOHN D., Worcester.—Three Swiss medals of silver and bronze.

WEEKEN, WILLIAM B., Providence, R. I.—His “New Socialism and Economics.”

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—His “Cartier to Frontenac”; and his sixteenth report as librarian of Harvard University.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—His Remarks at the Annual Meeting of the Peabody Trustees of Southern Education, 1893.

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ABBOT, WILLIAM F., Worcester.—Harvard University Catalogue, 1892-93.

ALDRICH, Hon. SAMUEL N., Boston.—Stetson’s “Historical Sketch of the State Bank, 1811-1863, the State National Bank, 1865-1891.”

AMES, Gen. ADELBERT, Lowell.—Numbers of the “Maine Bugle.”

BANCROFT, Miss SARAH A., Worcester.—Flavel’s Works, two volumes folio, London, 1740.

BANKS CHARLES E., M.D., Portland, Me.—His “Thomas Venner.”

- BARTON, Miss CLARA, Washington, D. C.—Two of her brochures relating to the American National Red Cross.
- BARTON, Miss LYDIA M., Worcester.—One pamphlet.
- BELL, Mrs. CHARLES H., Exeter, N. H.—“Memorial of Charles Henry Bell, Exeter, N. H.”; and various notices of his death.
- BENJAMIN, WALTER R., New York City.—Manuscript letter of Samuel M. Burnside, Rec. Sec. of the American Antiquarian Society.
- BENZIGER BROTHERS, New York City.—Numbers of their “Catholic Book News at Home and Abroad.”
- BERRY, JOHN M., Worcester.—His “Representation in the United States Senate.”
- BLAKE, SAMUEL C., M.D., Chicago, Ill. — His “Plan for Restraining Dangerous Cranks.”
- BLAKE, TIFFANY, Chicago, Ill.—Tributes to William F. Poole, LL.D.
- BOWKER, JOHN B., Worcester.—Two books; one pamphlet.
- BRADLEE, Rev. CALEB D., D.D., Boston.—His “Sermon for the Church”; and one pamphlet.
- BROWN, WILLARD E., Honolulu, H. I.—Four pamphlets relating to the Hawaiian Islands.
- BRYANT, H. WINSLOW, Portland, Me.—Three newspapers containing historical articles.
- BULLOCK, Mrs. MARY CHANDLER, AND Mrs. FANNY CHANDLER LINCOLN, Worcester.—“A Memorial of Dr. George Chandler.”
- BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Twenty-five pamphlets; and the “Spirit of Missions,” in continuation.
- CANFIELD, Mrs. PENELOPE L., Worcester.—Twelve selected books; three pamphlets; and one engraved portrait.
- CENTURY COMPANY, New York.—The “Century Magazine,” as issued.
- CHANDLER, Hon. WILLIAM E., Concord, N. H.—“Account of the Unveiling Ceremonies, August 3, 1892, of the Statue of John P. Hale, presented to the State of New Hampshire by William E. Chandler.”
- CHEYNEY, EDWARD P., Philadelphia, Pa.—One pamphlet.
- CHILDS, Mrs. GEORGE W., Philadelphia, Pa.—Tributes to George W. Childs.
- CILLEY, Gen. J. P., Rockland, Me.—Seven pamphlets relating to the First Maine Cavalry.
- CLARK, Rev. GEORGE F., West Acton.—“Woman’s Journal” and “The Voice” for 1893, in continuation.
- COLTON, Mrs. SAMUEL H., Worcester.—Eighteen selected books.
- COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The “Boston Commonwealth,” as issued.
- CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., Worcester.—His “Catholic School and Home Magazine,” as issued.

CRAM, GEORGE W., Norwalk, Conn.—Four book-plates.

CRANE, ELLERY B., Worcester.—His “Ancestry of Edward Rawson”; and his “Memorial of Dr. Guillermo Rawson.”

CRITIC COMPANY.—Numbers of “The Critic.”

CUMMINGS, Miss SARAH, Worcester.—The “Missionary Herald,” 1886-90.

CURTIS, Hon. GEORGE M., Brooklyn, N. Y.—Portraits of eminent American, English and Canadian Lawyers; series A and B.

CUSHMAN, ALBERT S., Oxford—“Copies of Soldiers’ Letters of the Civil War, 1861-65.”

DAMON, Mrs. CHARLES B., Worcester.—The “Missionary Herald,” 1892-98.

DANIELS, FRED. H., Worcester.—His “Wire-Rod Rolling Mills and their Development in America.”

DARLING, Gen. CHARLES W., Utica, N. Y.—His “Roads, Good and Bad.”

DICKINSON, G. STEWART, Worcester.—Nine coins of silver and one of copper; and Scott’s Postage Stamp Catalogue of 1894.

DOYLE, JAMES J., Worcester.—His “Messenger,” as issued.

DREER, FERDINAND J., Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Catalogue of the Collection of Autographs formed by Ferdinand Julius Dreer,” in two volumes, large quarto.

DREW, ALLIS COMPANY, Worcester.—One hundred and eighty-three American directories; and one map.

DWIGHT, TIMOTHY, LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—His report of 1893 as President of Yale University.

EDDY, WILLIAM P., Brooklyn, N. Y.—His “Conquest of Ohio.”

EMERY, EDWIN, New Bedford.—One hundred and ten books; seventy pamphlets; and twelve volumes of newspapers.

ERNST, CARL W., Boston.—His “Constitutional History of Boston, Massachusetts.”

ESTABROOK, GEORGE H., Worcester.—Fourteen books; and thirty-seven pamphlets.

FAIRBANKS, GEORGE E., Worcester.—One newspaper.

FOLSOM, ALBERT A., Boston.—255th Annual Record of the Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company, Massachusetts.

FRENCH, A. D. WELD, Boston.—His “Notes on the Surnames Francus, Franceis, French, etc., in Scotland.”

GAZETTE COMPANY.—The “Worcester Evening Gazette,” and the “Ægis and Gazette,” as issued.

GEOLOGICAL PUBLISHING COMPANY, Minneapolis, Minn.—Numbers of the “American Geologist.”

GETCHELL, ALBERT C., M.D., Worcester.—Two books; forty-seven pamphlets; and two maps.

GODDARD, LUCIUS P., Worcester.—One book; and ninety-seven pamphlets.

GOLDEN RULE COMPANY, Boston.—The “Golden Rule,” as issued.

GREEN, CHARLES R., Lyndon, Kans.—His “Family of Ezra Green”; and one pamphlet.

GREEN, JAMES, Worcester.—Forty-three books; two hundred and thirty-three pamphlets; and the “Banker and Tradesman,” 1885–1892.

GREEN, MARTIN, Worcester.—Three books; and seventy pamphlets.

GREGSON, Rev. JOHN, Worcester.—The Trial of Bishop Onderdonk; and two newspapers.

HAMILTON, CHARLES, Worcester.—One book; and three hundred and fifty-five pamphlets.

HARLOW, FREDERICK B., Worcester.—Twelve Icelandic works; and one college pamphlet.

HARRIS, GEORGE W., Ithaca, N. Y.—His “Twenty-five Years of the Annals of Cornell University Library, 1868–1893”; and his report as Librarian, 1893.

HART, CHARLES HENRY, Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Stuart Portraits of Washington.”

HAVEN, Mrs. SAMUEL F., Worcester.—Sixty-five books; two volumes of photographs; seventy pamphlets; four files of newspapers; two maps; and one lithograph.

HOBBS, WILLIAM H., Ph.D., Madison, Wis.—Three of his geological brochures.

HOLBROOK, LEVI, New York City.—Six pamphlets and circulars relating to the Society of the Sons of the Revolution.

HORTON AND SON, NATHANIEL A., Salem.—The Salem Daily Gazette, as issued.

HOUGHTON, MIFFLIN AND COMPANY, Boston.—Their “Literary Bulletin,” as issued.

HOWELL, GEORGE R., Albany, N. Y.—His “Some Pre-Columbian Discoveries of America.”

JONES, CHARLES EDGEWORTH, Augusta, Ga.—His “Political and Judicial Divisions of the Commonwealth of Georgia.”

JONES, FERNANDO, Chicago, Ill.—Two pamphlets.

JONES, Rev. HENRY L., S.T.D., Wilkes-Barré, Pa.—“The Parish Guest,” as issued.

KASSON AND PALMER, Boston.—Numbers of their “Education.”

KENT, THOMAS G., Worcester.—“History of the Yale Class of 1851 for forty years.”

KENT AND DEWEY, Worcester.—Forty-nine books; eighty-seven pamphlets; and one photograph.

KETCHAM, H. J., London, G. B.—“Holidays in England by the Cathedral Cities.”

KNAPP, Mrs. FREDERICK N., Plymouth.—One pamphlet.

KYES AND WOODBURY, Worcester.—Their “Calendar,” as issued.

KYLE, WILLIAM S., Plymouth.—One pamphlet.

LAWTON, Mrs. SARAH E., Worcester.—Worcester Directory for 1892.

LE SOUDIER, H., Paris, France.—Numbers of his “Revue des Livres et du Théâtre.”

LINCOLN, EDWARD W., Worcester.—Four books; and sixty-eight pamphlets.

LINCOLN, WALDO, Worcester.—Two books; three hundred and thirty-five pamphlets; three manuscript volumes; and one map.

LINCOLN, WINSLOW S., Worcester.—Photograph of the old Foster Street Depot, Worcester, Mass.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND COMPANY, New York.—Their “Notes on Books,” as issued.

LOWDERMILK AND COMPANY, W. H., Washington, D. C.—Numbers of their “Washington Book Chronicle.”

MANN, BENJ. PICKMAN, Washington, D. C.—A newspaper of early date.

MARBLE, ALBERT P., Ph.D., Worcester.—His “Tribute to Francis Jane Parkhurst, 1884-1898.”

MERCER, H. C., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his brochures.

METCALF, FRANK J., Ashland.—His “Barnabas Metcalf and his descendants.”

MORGAN, Hon. JOHN T., Selma, Ala.—“Behring Sea Tribunal of Arbitration, Opinions of Mr. Justice Harlan.”

MORSE, EDWARD S., Salem.—Two of his scientific brochures.

MORSE, RICHARD C., *Secretary*, New York City.—“Year Book of Y. M. C. Associations of North America, 1893.”

MORTON, Hon. LEVI P., New York.—“Testimonial of United States Senators to Vice-President Morton.”

MOWER, MANDEVILLE, New York.—Newspapers containing various historical articles by him.

NEW YORK EVENING POST PRINTING COMPANY.—The “Nation,” as issued.

NOYES, JAMES, Cambridge.—His “Inscriptions and Memoranda.”

OPEN COURT PUBLISHING COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—The “Open Court,” as issued.

PARMELEE, ARTHUR W., Worcester.—His “Ancient Hardware.”

PEABODY REPORTER COMPANY.—“Peabody Reporter,” as issued.

PILLING, JAMES C., Washington, D. C.—His Bibliography of the Salishan; and Bibliography of the Chinookan Languages.

PORTER AND COATES, Philadelphia, Pa.—Numbers of their "Literary Era."

RELIGIOUS HERALD COMPANY.—The "Religious Herald," as issued.

REPUBLICAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, Denver, Colo.—Numbers of their "Republican."

RICE, FRANKLIN P., Worcester.—His "Directory of Worcester and Vicinity," 1893.

RIORDAN, JOHN J., Worcester.—His "Suggestions to Teachers, and Hours of Study in the Evening Schools in Worcester"; Questions for Written Examinations, March, 1894; and two diplomas.

RIO GRANDE WESTERN RAILWAY COMPANY.—Contour map of Utah, 1893.

ROBINSON, Miss MARY, Worcester.—Thirty pamphlets; and one photograph.

ROBINSON, WILLIAM H., Worcester.—The "Amherst Record," in continuation.

ROE, ALFRED S., Worcester.—His "Rose Neighborhood Sketches, Wayne County, New York."

ROGERS, CHARLES E., Barre.—His "Barre Gazette," as issued.

ROGERS, Mrs. JAMES S., Chicago, Ill.—One hundred and sixty-five books; and one hundred and twenty-eight pamphlets.

ROWELL AND COMPANY, GEORGE P., New York City.—Numbers of their "Printer's Ink."

RUGG, ARTHUR P., Worcester.—The "Clinton Courant," 1892-93, in continuation.

SCRIPTURE, EDWARD W., Ph.D., *Editor*, New Haven, Conn.—"Studies from the Yale Psychological Laboratory," October, 1893.

SENTINEL PRINTING COMPANY.—The "Fitchburg Sentinel," as issued.

SHIRLEY, GEORGE H., Brooklyn, N. Y.—His "Life of General Neal Dow."

SHOE AND LEATHER REPORTER PUBLISHERS.—Their "Reporter" and "Annual" of 1894, as issued.

SPY PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The "Worcester Daily Spy," and the "Massachusetts Spy," as issued.

STAPLES, SAMUEL E., Worcester.—Two of his poems; and the "Deer Isle Gazette" for 1892.

STODDARD, EDWARD D., Worcester.—A bronze medal of John Adams.

SWAN, ROBERT T., Boston.—His "Sixth Report on the Custody and Condition of the Public Records of Parishes, Towns, and Counties."

THORNE, WILLIAM H., Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of his "Globe."

- TRUMBLE, ALFRED, New York.—His “Collector,” as issued.
- TURNER, JOHN H., Ayer.—His “Groton Landmark,” as issued.
- VERDUZCO, IGNACIO O., Morelia, Mexico.—His “Gazeta Oficial,” as issued.
- VINTON, Rev. ALEXANDER H., D.D., Worcester.—“The Parish,” as issued.
- W P I EDITORS, Worcester.—Their Magazine, as issued.
- WALKER AND COMPANY, E. W., Boston.—Engraved portrait of George Bancroft.
- WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—One book; three pamphlets.
- WARNER, CHARLES F., *Publisher*, Northampton.—His “Picturesque Franklin, 1891”; and “Picturesque Hampden, 1892.”
- WATCHMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY.—The “Vermont Watchman,” as issued.
- WATERHOUSE, Prof. SYLVESTER, St. Louis, Mo.—His “Importance of Ramie to the Agricultural Prosperity of the Gulf States.”
- WEISS, Mrs. JOHN, Worcester.—Framed photograph of Brackett’s bust of John Brown.
- WELLS, Miss IDA B., Chicago, Ill.—One pamphlet.
- WESBY, JOSEPH S. AND SONS, Worcester.—Five books; and forty pamphlets.
- WHEELER, LEONARD, M.D., Worcester.—Three books; and ninety-seven pamphlets.
- WHITCOMB, Miss MARY G., Worcester.—Seven pamphlets.
- WHITE, Mrs. CAROLINE E., *Editor*, Philadelphia, Pa.—The “Journal of Zoöphily,” as issued.
- WHITE, PEREGRINE F., Worcester.—Photograph of “Samuel White, Aged 90 years.”
- WILLIAMS, ALEXANDER, Boston.—“Action of the Massachusetts Society of Cincinnati on the death of Hon. Hamilton Fish.”
- WOODWARD, Mrs. HENRY, Worcester.—Matthew Henry’s “Discourse Concerning Meekness.”
- WOODWARD, PATRICK H., *Secretary*, Hartford, Conn.—Sixth Annual Report of the Board of Trade.
- WORCESTER TELEGRAM COMPANY.—The Daily Telegram, bound Vols. 1-7; and Sunday Telegram, bound Vols. 1-8.
- YALE REVIEW PUBLISHERS.—The “Yale Review,” as issued.

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

- ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Its Proceedings, as issued.
- ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Its Transactions, as issued.

ALWAYS EVERYWHERE ASSOCIATES, Worcester.—Their “Old South Record,” Vols. 1-8, 1891-1893.

AMERICAN ACADEMY OF ARTS AND SCIENCES.—Proceedings of the Academy, Vol. XXVIII.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—The “Baptist Missionary Magazine,” as issued.

AMERICAN BOARD OF COMMISSIONERS FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.—The Annual Reports, 1882-1892.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Society’s publications, as issued.

AMERICAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION.—Two books.

AMERICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.—The Society’s Bulletin, as issued.

AMERICAN PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY.—The “Proceedings,” as issued.

AMERICAN SEAMEN’S FRIEND SOCIETY.—The “Sailor’s Magazine,” as issued.

AMERICAN SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—Numbers of “University Extension.”

AMERICAN STATISTICAL ASSOCIATION.—Its publications, as issued.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—Annual Report of 1893.

BOSTON BOARD OF HEALTH.—The “Statement of Mortality,” as issued.

BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—The Twenty-ninth Annual Report.

BOSTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library’s Bulletin, as issued.

BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.—Proceedings, January 9, 1894.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—The Library Bulletin, as issued.

BROWN UNIVERSITY LIBRARY.—Four pamphlets.

BUREAU OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.—The Bulletins, as issued.

CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—The Proceedings, No. 84.

CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Its Transactions, as issued.

CHILDREN’S HOSPITAL, Boston.—The Twenty-fourth Annual Report.

CINCINNATI PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Bulletin of Books added to the Library in 1893.

COLONIAL SOCIETY OF MASSACHUSETTS.—The By-Laws, 1893.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—Publications of the College, as issued.

COMMISSION IMPÉRIALE ARCHÉOLOGIQUE, St. Petersburg, Russia.—Publications of the Commission, 1882-1888.

CONNECTICUT, STATE OF.—Seven volumes of State documents, 1892.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.—The “Library Bulletin,” as issued; and Register, 1893-94.

DAYTON PUBLIC LIBRARY AND MUSEUM.—The Report for 1892-98.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The “Dedham Historical Reporter,” as issued; and one book.

DETROIT PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-ninth Annual Report.

ENOCH PRATT FREE LIBRARY.—The Eighth Annual Report.

ESSEX INSTITUTE.—Eleven bundles of newspapers; and the Institute publications, as issued.

FITCHBURG, CITY OF.—City document, No. 21.

GEOLOGICAL SURVEY OF CANADA.—The Annual Report, 1890-91.

GROTON SCHOOL.—Eighteen numbers of “The Grotonian.”

HANDEL AND HAYDN SOCIETY OF BOSTON.—History of the Society, Vol. 1.

HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—The “Hartford Seminary Record,” as issued; and the Annual Report.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY.—The University publications, as issued.

HELENA PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Bulletin for 1893-94.

HIGHLAND MILITARY ACADEMY, Worcester.—“The Highland Cadet,” as issued.

HISTORICAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL SOCIETY OF OHIO.—The Annual Reports of 1893.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—The “Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,” as issued.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WATERTOWN.—By-Laws of the Society, 1893.

HISTORISCHEN VEREINES VON OBERPFALZ UND REGENSBURG.—The Year Book of 1893.

HYDE PARK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The “Hyde Park Historical Record,” as issued.

IOWA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The “Iowa Historical Record,” as issued.

IOWA STATE LIBRARY.—The Biennial Report, 1893.

JERSEY CITY PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Third Annual Report; and the “Library Record,” as issued.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—The University publications, as issued.

KANSAS CITY ACADEMY OF SCIENCE.—Its “Scientist,” as issued.

LANCASTER TOWN LIBRARY.—The Annual Report, 1893-94.

LIBRARY ASSOCIATION OF PORTLAND, OREGON.—“Our Library,” as issued.

LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—The Bulletin, as issued.

LONG ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Catalogue of the Library, 1863-1893.

LOS ANGELES PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Annual Report, 1892-93.

MAINE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—Lincoln County Probate Records.

MAINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Collections and Proceedings, as issued.

MARYLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The “Archives of Maryland”; and the Society’s publications, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS CHARITABLE FIRE SOCIETY.—Sprague’s Brief History of the Society.

MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Ten volumes of State documents; and two proclamations.

MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—The Proceedings, as issued.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY.—Two Institute pamphlets.

MASSACHUSETTS MEDICAL SOCIETY.—“Bills of Mortality, 1810–1849, City of Boston.”

MASSACHUSETTS SCHOOL FOR THE FEEBLE MINDED.—The Forty-sixth Annual Report.

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—The “Weekly Returns of Mortality,” as issued.

MERIDEN SCIENTIFIC ASSOCIATION.—The Transactions for the year 1898.

MILLICENT LIBRARY OF FAIRHAVEN, MASS.—One pamphlet.

MINNEAPOLIS PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fourth Annual Report.

MUSEU NACIONAL DO RIO DE JANEIRO.—Volume VIII. of the Archives.

NATIONAL CENTRAL LIBRARY OF FLORENCE.—The Library publications, as issued.

NEWARK FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Library publications, as issued.

NEW ENGLAND HISTORIC GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY.—The “Register,” as issued.

NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings of the Society, as issued; Vols. 17 and 18 of the New Jersey Archives; and forty-seven State documents.

NEW JERSEY STATE LIBRARY.—The Annual Report for 1893.

NEW YORK ACADEMY OF SCIENCES.—The “Annals,” as issued.

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Society’s “Collections, 1888, Deane Papers, Vol. III., 1778–1779.”

NEW YORK MERCANTILE LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—The Seventy-third Annual Report.

NEW YORK STATE LIBRARY.—The Library publications, as issued.

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Twelve books; and forty-five pamphlets.

PORTLAND BOARD OF TRADE.—The “Board of Trade Journal,” as issued.

PROVIDENCE ATHENÆUM.—The Fifty-eighth Annual Report.

PROVIDENCE FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Five books; one pamphlet.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—The Society's publications, as issued.

ROYAL ACADEMY OF BELLES LETTRES, HISTORY AND ANTIQUITIES, Stockholm, Sweden.—Two Academy publications.

ROYAL SOCIETY OF ANTIQUARIES OF IRELAND.—The Society's "Journal of the Proceedings," as issued.

RUTLAND COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Proceedings at the Annual Meeting, August 20, 1886.

SALEM PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Fifth Annual Report; and the Bulletin, as issued.

SCRANTON PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Third Annual Report.

SMITHSONIAN INSTITUTION.—Publications of the Institution, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ D'ARCHÉOLOGIE DE BRUXELLES.—The Society's publications, as issued.

SOCIÉTÉ DE GÉOGRAPHIE, Paris, France.—The Society's publications, as issued.

SOCIETY OF THE ARMY OF THE POTOMAC.—The Twenty-fourth Annual Reunion of the Society.

SPRINGFIELD PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The "Library Bulletin," as issued.

STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN.—Proceedings of the Society, 1893.

TRAVELERS' INSURANCE COMPANY.—The "Travelers' Record," as issued.

UNITED STATES BUREAU OF EDUCATION.—"Circulars" of the Bureau, as issued.

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UNITED STATES CIVIL SERVICE COMMISSION.—The Ninth Annual Report.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR.—Ninety-five books; ten pamphlets; and the "Patent Office Gazette," as issued.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE.—Reports from the Consuls of the United States, as issued.

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UNITED STATES WAR DEPARTMENT.—Index Catalogue of the Surgeon General's Office, Vol. 14; and "Uniform of the Army of the United States, 1774-1889."

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA.—Publications of the University, as issued.

UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.—"The State Library Bulletin," for January, 1894.

VIRGINIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"The Virginia Magazine of History and Biography."

WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY.—Two University Pamphlets.

WISCONSIN ACADEMY OF SCIENCES, ARTS AND LETTERS.—“Catalogue of the Library,” 1898.

WORCESTER BOARD OF HEALTH.—The “Worcester Mortality Reports,” as issued.

WORCESTER, CITY OF.—City documents of 1892.

WORCESTER CITY HOSPITAL.—Report for 1893.

WORCESTER COUNTY LAW LIBRARY ASSOCIATION.—Boston Daily Advertiser, in continuation; and twenty-two pamphlets.

WORCESTER COUNTY MECHANICS ASSOCIATION.—The Annual Report, 1893; and twenty-two files of newspapers, in continuation.

WORCESTER DISTRICT MEDICAL SOCIETY.—“Encyclopædia Britannica,” eighth edition, 22 volumes; Ziemssen’s “Cyclopædia of the Practice of Medicine,” 20 volumes; and Ainsworth’s Dictionary.

WORCESTER FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Sixteen books; two hundred and seven pamphlets; ninety files of newspapers, in continuation; and miscellaneous newspapers.

WORCESTER NATIONAL BANK.—Three files of newspapers, in continuation.

WYOMING HISTORICAL AND GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY.—One pamphlet.

YALE UNIVERSITY.—The Annual Catalogue, 1893-94.

ON THE PAST IN THE PRESENT IN ASIA.

BY JOHN BELLOWS.

DURING the closing days of 1892 I was travelling from Moscow to Tiflis with an English friend. The last one hundred and thirty miles of this journey was taken up in crossing the great mountain barrier of the Caucasus, from Europe into Asia: or rather from Russia, where Asia overlaps Europe, to the Transcaucasus, where the European tide of change is very slowly wearing its way into the cliff of Oriental thought and customs that belong to a distant past.

It is through the Tartar influence in its history, and the Tartar element in its population, that Asia overlaps European Russia. A Western European is at once struck in Petersburg and other Russian towns with the "Dvors," or markets, where the shops are built round a cloistered square: that is, they are a modification of the Oriental Bazaar. This Asian influence is more striking in Moscow than in Petersburg. Moscow is European in its railroads and steam-engines, its factories and tram-lines, its telegraphs and telephones: Asiatic in its "Kitai Gorod," or, Chinese town, as the Kremlin is called: in the quaint old-world style of the Kremlin's battlemented walls,¹ in the gorgeous coloring of its bulbed domes; in its multitudinous bells; and in a variety of minor matters, of which I will instance but two. The Chinese abacus, or counting-frame, is used

¹ These walls were anciently of timber; a stockade such as still surrounds some of the minor towns and many villages in China. The Comte de Kergaradec (Consul-General for France), who resides in Moscow, told me he also had been struck with the Chinese character of the Kremlin. "Kitai" is another form of Cathay, an old name for China.

in every bank and shop in Moscow and throughout Russia. The Chinese influence is curiously shown in the ornaments painted even on the brewers' drays; where we constantly meet with the chrysanthemum pattern on a scarlet ground. The same ornament is used on the wooden spoons made here, and sold all over the empire, for the use of the peasantry. I bought some of these Muscovite spoons in the Armenian bazaar at Tiflis. The wood is varnished, and ornamented with bronze, as in Chinese and Japanese work: while the shape itself is the European bowl and "fiddle-pattern" handle. I should mention that the Armenian of whom I bought them put them up in a paper bag of his own making. It was covered with text in a foreign alphabet of Phœnician origin; and there were pictures in the text, over which might be deciphered the words "PUNCH, OR THE LONDON CHARIVARI."

My English friend and I had for travelling companions over the mountain, a Russian interpreter; a Georgian wine-grower, who was on his way home from Stavropol to rejoin his wife and children at his vineyard in Kakhetia; and a Jew, homeward-bound to Tiflis. Our conveyance over the snow on the summit was a covered sledge drawn by four horses. It allowed us each but cramped space, and it was no small relief, after fifteen hours' continuous rise, to find we had surmounted the pass, over eight thousand feet in altitude, and were beginning to run down on the Asian side of Mount Kazbek, which here towers more than 8,500 feet higher still above us.

The Russian government has built substantial stations all along this military road, and our Georgian fellow-traveller took some refreshment at Lars, the first of these in descending the mountain. When he had resumed his seat in the sledge, he threw himself back, closed his eyes, and struck up a wild melody in his own tongue. He was a very remarkable-looking man: tall, powerfully-built and with a face so exactly of the type of the Assyrian kings that he

might just have stepped off one of the Nineveh slabs in the British Museum.¹

“Was the wine good?” asked our interpreter, as soon as he had come to a pause in his song. “Nay,” replied Belshazzar, “It is my heart that is good, because I shall now soon be with my wife and children”; and then he closed his eyes again and continued his song. The notes were strange and wild: unlike anything European; but they struck me as the more strange because I had heard them once before. Four years previously, curiosity had led some members of my family into the great Synagogue at Frankfort, near the old historic house of the Rothschilds. Part of the service consisted of a chant by a youth of fifteen; a strange, wild, high-pitched wailing, rather than what would be classed as music by a European ear. And here, under Mount Kazbek, was an Asiatic, of kindred type with the Jew, if not himself a Hebrew, singing the same notes, the same “motif” intonation I had heard in the Synagogue at Frankfort.

What could be the clue to this riddle? Asia certainly had not borrowed this music from Europe; but an Asiatic people, who at this day form a colony 30,000 strong in a great European city, must have carried it there. Further: this people, “scattered and peeled” from their own land for eighteen hundred years, were, five-and-twenty hundred years ago, dwellers on the banks of the Euphrates, at no very great distance from here. They must have carried the tune from the same source from which our Georgian’s ancestors brought it.

Among the Caucasian Jews I followed up this enquiry on the identity of the Synagogue music at Frankfort with Asiatic music of to-day. The idea was new to them; but

¹ The persistence of the type is wonderful. If I believed in the Transmigration of Souls, I should say that I have seen two of the old Assyrian Kings, dressed in the uniform of Russian officers, sitting down at a table in the hotel at Elizabetpol, drinking a bottle of wine together! I only wish I could have photographed them, to enable the reader to appreciate the uncanny feeling that crept over one at the time!

after reflection they said they believed I was right, and that the sounds must have come down from the Babylonish captivity. It is even possible, in a land where “rien ne commence: tout se continue,” that the motif or style of this singing may go back to before the days of Abraham, when he “dwelt in Haran,” in the same valley of the Euphrates.

There are tribes of Jews in the Transcaucasus, especially about Kutaïs (the ~~ancient~~ Colchis, ~~from~~ whence Jason brought the Golden Fleece), who claim that they have been settled there ever since the Babylonish captivity. They are dark in complexion, and resemble the Georgians, yet retaining the unmistakable type which leaves no doubt as to their ancestry.

Besides these there are 21,000 Jews scattered through Daghestan (Dagh=mountain; Stan=country), the region to the east and northeast of the Georgian Pass. Most of these live in “Aouls,” or villages, and are engaged in agriculture. Mahometanism has so far repressed them that they have but little knowledge of the Talmud; though in one of their villages they have a parchment MS. of the ten commandments, two or three centuries old.

Some years ago a Hebrew inscription was found at Mzhket, the station at the southern end of the Georgian Pass, through which we have been journeying. The following translation is by the editor of the “Kafkaz,” the leading journal of the Caucasus, and himself a skilled antiquary:—

“ Year 131 from the Captivity. Rechabin.
 “ * * * to the palace of those who rest eternally
 “ with the just
 “ the follower of the law
 “ of the Ancient High One
 * * * * * * *
 “ the weak will be exalted ”

We must not forget that the Israelites were transplanted by Shalmanezar, the Assyrian king, close to the borders of the

Caucasus; that is, "to the cities of the Medes." That Media at one time included the valley of the Kurus, or Kur, on which Tiflis stands, is shown by "Cyrus the Mede" having taken his name from this river. This removal of the ten tribes was more than a century earlier than the Babylonian Captivity of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin. (See 2 Kings xvii. 6.)

My own impression is strong that the Armenians who still inhabit the Armenian Plain, and the northwest of Media—the present Persian Province of Aderbijan—as well as the Caucasus, are the descendants of these people. It is impossible to travel among them without being struck with many little things in their daily life that recall manners and customs touched upon in the Bible.¹ I have many photographs of Armenian types of feature—very suggestive of a Hebrew origin—one of which, a group of school-girls, especially, shows several strongly Jewish faces. Add to this the similarity of the Armenian chant-music to that of the Synagogue; the fact that the Armenians abstain from pork; and the occurrence of Hebrew words in the speech of Aderbijan; and the probability of this origin seems to me difficult to set aside.²

It was late on the afternoon of the second day of our journey over the mountain before we emerged on the great plain of the river Kur. The soil along many parts of the bank is a rich, deep loam, resulting from the decomposition

¹ Dr. Buedeker, who has made a journey to Eastern Siberia from the Transcaucasus, since our return, tells me that on one occasion he was ascending a mountain-side near Shemaka, at night. In the gray dawn his party was hailed by an Armenian shepherd, who was followed by his flock, and who bore a weakly lamb in his arms. Presently the man stood still, and bent in an attitude of anxious listening for some time; then gently laid the lamb on the ground, and calling his dog, committed the flock to its keeping, while he started off alone into the rocky solitude. Dr. B. and his guides wanted to see the result; and in about an hour the shepherd's figure stood out to the sunrise on the heights above, and with it that of the lost sheep he had gone into the wilderness to seek. What poem on earth could be more touching or more beautiful than this scene, older than history, yet new every morning!

² The Armenians of North Persia speak two languages: their own, and "Aderbyansky" (i. e., a dialect of Tartar, or Turkish.)

of volcanic deposits. As we were jolting wearily along—for twenty-six hours of continuous sitting in the cold wonderfully dampens one's enthusiasm—my attention was suddenly caught by a shovel with which a laborer was digging near the roadside; for it was of the form used in the Cornish mines. [See Fig. 1.]

1. Cornish Mining Shovel. 4. Cornish Mining Pick.
2. Caucasian Shovel (its usual size in the original would show double as large as this in the sketch).
3. Hoe found in Roman workings in Rio Tinto mines, Spain.
5. Caucasian Mining Pick 6. Roman Pick from Rio Tinto.
7. Miner's Gad, Tiflis 8. Stonecutter's Pick, made at Tiflis.
9. Claw-hammer used by Armenian silversmith at Shusa. 10. Adze, Tiflis.
11. Miner's Hammer (Roman), Rio Tinto. 12. Roman Lamp, Rio Tinto.

Some years before I had seen in use in Germany the same long-bitted, triangular shovel; and as German miners were brought to Cornwall, I believe in Queen Elizabeth's time, to instruct Englishmen in improved methods of deep mining, I at once concluded that the Cornish shovel must have been introduced by them; if not, indeed, during a still earlier visit of German tin-miners to Cornwall, under an ancestor of the Godolphins. But here was the same instrument in Asia; and the problem needed further examination; for it was not solved.

We had to make a stay of some weeks in Tiflis; and during this interval had opportunity for frequent visits to the bazaars, and for examining the tools and methods used in some of the handicrafts. Tiflis is a great centre of commerce between Persia and the Central Asian provinces on the one hand, and the Black Sea, with Constantinople, on the other; and the variety of types, tribal and national, one meets with in the streets, is as great, perhaps, as in any city in Asia.

Besides some sixty different peoples that make up the population of the Transcaucasus, now, as in the days of Strabo, and representatives of whom may, from time to time, be encountered in the city, Tiflis itself has over 130,000 souls, of six different nations, each of which

retains its individuality, and holds somewhat aloof from the rest. There are the Russians, constituting the official and upper classes, as well as Cossacks and other military; Georgians; Armenians; Tartars (some of them descendants of the soldiers of Ghengis Khan)—a German colony; and about 10,000 Persians. Most of the masons in Tiflis are Persians, and the tools they use are Persian—*i. e.*, of course of definitely Asian types. Among those to whom I turned for information about the Georgian pointed shovel to which allusion has been made, was Samuel Rooks, an English engineer, long resident in the country. He told me that it was the ancient native pattern, and that it was an excellent digging tool, especially in the hands of the Tartars, who are remarkably clever at well-sinking and other earth-work. A Tartar will dig a well for a small sum, turning round and round as he works, in a circle scarcely larger than gives him standing-room; drawing up the earth in a skin bag, and leaving the hole beautifully round and true as he finishes it.

Samuel Rooks advised me to go to the smiths' shops just above the Persian bazaar, and have a shovel forged for myself. I did so. Entering a shop where shovels were hung up at the door, I told the smith (a Georgian) that I wanted two made specially, one-half the usual size, but exactly of the sort used by farmers. My reason for getting new ones made, was that quite lately the Town Authorities have imported steel shovels from Germany, for use by the scavengers, on account of their lightness, and I wanted to be certain of getting the real native implement, and not a foreign one.

The smith was a bright, intelligent fellow, and after a sketch with chalk, to show that he had grasped my meaning, he took a lump of iron the size of a man's hand, and perhaps an inch thick, and placed it in his fire. All the smiths and metal-workers in Tiflis use charcoal; I think they are obliged to do so, to avoid smoke in so densely crowded

a town. One of the picturesque sights of the bazaars is the number of donkeys that bring in this charcoal from the forests. They are loaded so as to form a hump or peak, that makes them look like little dromedaries, mingling with the camels and buffalo teams that throng the narrow streets. The Georgian signalled to his strikers, and in swift succession his hammer and their two sledges rang on the little mass of iron till one side of it was beaten to a plate, the other being shaped at second heat for the socket. The edges were trimmed, and the whole dressed with a rough file, till it took the form here shown (Fig. 2). A second shovel I left to be finished, and called for it, when I paid for the pair. I think the whole sum charged was a rouble (say half a dollar, or two shillings English).

I noticed that the anvil in this smithy, as in others we visited, was beaked, like those we are accustomed to; and that the swages and other tools were of our familiar types. The beaked anvil is shown on a Roman painting in Pompeii; so that the shape was the same in Italy 1,800 years ago as that we are using to-day.

I went to another smith to get a pick and gad made such as miners use in the Caucasus. Here is the result. (Figs. 5 and 7).

In masons' tools I had noticed the same forms as those with which we are familiar in the west: the lozenge-shaped building trowel; the oblong square plastering float with the handle attached to the plate. A similar form, made of wood, has been found in Egypt, used by the earliest Pyramid-builders.

Stone-cutting tools were also identical with ours. Noticing that these seemed rather a specialty in one of the forges of the Persian quarter, I went in and asked the smith if he could make me a double-pointed pick, somewhat smaller than those generally used, but of the usual shape. This man, I found, was a Greek, named Nikola, an immigrant; but as he had, of course, to conform to the usual patterns of tools

used in the Caucasus, his nationality made no difference for my purpose. He could not speak Russian, however, and I had to hold converse with him through two interpreters. Our Russian attendant gathering my meaning in English, passed it on to a Persian, who turned it into "Aderbijan-sky," as it is here called; that is, the dialect of Turkish or Tartar spoken throughout the Persian Province of Aderbijan, and largely used by Armenians and Tartars in the Caucasus. It is to Western Central Asia what French is in European travelling: a general medium of intercourse. Nikola seized the idea at once, and searching among his stock brought out the pattern of pick I wanted, as well as two others used in dressing stone by the Persians. One was a hammer with two perpendicular edges cut into teeth about a quarter of an inch long; the other showed a flat of two inches square, cut with deep V grooves at right-angles, so as to leave the whole surface covered with sharp points a quarter of an inch asunder. All these are now used among Europeans.

Selecting a piece of steel, the smith placed it in the fire and signalled to his boy—an Armenian—to blow. The hearth was a low square block of masonry in the middle of the shop. The bellows, which stood at the back of it, consisted of two pig-skins, or two calf-skins, placed perpendicularly on the ground, with a board between them, and two others on the sides with handles. The boy grasped one in each hand—his arms being wide apart, and began to sway himself from side to side two or three feet, left and right alternately, so that as one skin was emptied the other was filled, keeping up a strong continuous blast. Here was clearly the origin of the term "a pair" of bellows; the word bellows itself probably being from *pellis*, a skin, of which the Saxon form is *Fell* (as in *Fellmonger*).

I was struck as I watched the Greek skilfully hammering the dazzling hot steel to its shape, by noting how without any gauge or template he wrought it not only to the form

we still use in Europe, but drew its point to about the same angle that our masons employ.

The persistence of even so fleeting and evanescent a thing as a set of sounds has been already instanced in the Georgian wine-grower's song, reproducing notes that resounded in the Psalms in Solomon's Temple ; if not a thousand years before that on the plains of Chaldea. In this matter of a cutting tool, experience has no doubt established a model which has been kept to, for probably as long a period. Similarly, I have found the angle of the piers in the Roman bridge at Newcastle, identical with that of cutwaters I have measured in modern bridges.

At a certain point in the forging, the assistant, or striker, laid down his sledge for his master to finish off the work with the hammer. Our Persian interpreter leaned towards him and said something, when the man left the shop ; presently returning with a European chair which he had borrowed for my use, as I had still some little time to wait before my pick was completed. I am sure I shall be excused for mentioning this, for it is but one instance out of many of the little acts of courtesy we received from the people among whom we travelled in different parts of the Russian Empire. I had paid for the pick—a rouble—and was taking it up to depart, when Nikola asked to have it back for a moment, and putting it again on the anvil held a tool to it, which he ordered his man to strike with a light blow. “I always like to put my mark on my work,” he remarked by way of apology ; and I saw he had struck a neat N on the steel. (Fig. 8).

The artisans in the bazaars all seemed marvellously industrious. In the smithies they filled up odd moments between the execution of orders by making little things for stock ; especially horseshoes, nails, and currycombs. The Asiatic currycomb is a bit of sheet iron bent over in section to three sides of a square \sqsupset , the two edges being filed into teeth. Three stays are fixed crosswise, on which are placed loose

rings, the jingle of these being supposed to please the horse or camel while he is being groomed. If we place this instrument alongside one of our own currycombs, we shall see at once that the latter is simply a combination of three of the Asiatic ones placed side by side, and fixed to a plate at the back. This multiplication necessitated a handle, as the whole became too broad to grasp by the back, and the teeth had to be made smaller. Still, for a shaggy beast like a camel, or an unclipped horse or mule, the ancient form is better, as being more elastic.

The horseshoe is a plate of iron with a small hole in the centre, and the European shape is only a modification of this into a rim of iron. Many antiquaries have fancied that the Romans did not shoe their horses, but this is a mistake.¹ The very fact of their paving their roads shows they must have shod their horses; and besides this, horseshoes have been found in many places with Roman remains. Professor Church tells me that he has examined the equestrian statue of a Roman Emperor at Orange, in France, and on the upturned foot of the horse, little points are marked in the marble, showing the nails.

From Tiflis we visited the great copper mines at Keda-

¹ This error is based on the assumption that a horseshoe is not mentioned by any classical writer. Negative evidence is very dubious at best; but even this negative evidence cannot be admitted: for in Suetonius's "Life of Vespasian" there is a capital story of one of the Emperor's muleteers stopping to have his mule shod in order to give some friend of his an opportunity of presenting a petition to Vespasian. The latter saw through the trick; and when they were ready to start again he remarked that the petitioner ought to pay half the smith's charge, seeing it was as much on his account as the Emperor's that the work had been done.

A similar error has been fallen into by antiquaries with regard to the supposed absence of camels in Egypt, anciently, on the ground that they are never shown on Egyptian monuments. Even Dr. Mommsen, the most fascinating writer on Roman antiquities, asserts that the camel was unknown in Egypt until the third century of the Christian Era. The narrative in Genesis, of the camel caravan that took Joseph to Egypt, would alone disprove such a statement; besides the fact that the camel is figured on one of the monuments. But Flinders Petrie, in his "Ten Years Digging in Egypt," gives a drawing of camels that are scratched on stones older than any of the monuments in that land.

bek, on the east of Lake Goktcha. These mines, which have been worked from ancient times, now belong to the firm of Siemens Brothers, the well-known electricians, who constructed the Indo-European line of telegraph. Some two thousand hands are employed in all; most of them Armenians and Tartars. The best European methods and appliances are used in the working; yet I noticed also among the implements the same pick and shovel I had had made in Tiflis; but how could it be decided whether these were imported by the German firm or had been previously used by the natives? One of the managers suggested that I might satisfy myself on this head by cross-examining the oldest man in the place—an Armenian who had worked in Kedabek before the Siemens came to it. He was sent for, and before long made his appearance; a venerable old man of eighty-four (if I remember rightly), with snowy hair and beard, and a considerable difficulty of hearing. Our interpreter asked one of the clerks in Russian, who passed on the query in Armenian, whether the pick and shovel sketched on the bit of paper before him had been brought here by Siemens Brothers: or whether he remembered them before the Germans came to the mine. Before the reply had time to sift through its double delivery, I saw from the old man's action what it was. "No, that pick and that shovel were the old tools of the country before the Siemens ever came to Kedabek."

"The old tools of the country": and what a country! A day or two later, we were driven to the summit of the mountain above the mines, by William Bolton, the general manager (who is of English descent). Near the top, we left the sledge to examine an old and decaying oak in the forest, which is considered a holy tree by the Armenians at the mines. "They come here on Sundays," we were told, "and burn candles to the Virgin at the foot of that tree." Close against it, and almost buried in the root, was a stone slab, completely covered with wax, and black with the

smoke of tapers burned for generations. Here, then, we were in the presence of such an oak as had been worshipped in some of the "high places" in ancient days, and the worship of which, thinly veiled by the name of Christianity, was going on yet; and of the stone that was probably an object of adoration for many generations earlier still: all three eras overlapping, so to say, and co-existent.

Few spots could be more calculated to excite the imagination. From the summit above us, 5,500 feet in height, we look westward over a wild abyss of Armenian mountains to a great volcanic barrier thirty or forty miles in length, and in one part 11,000 feet high, which shuts in the lake of Goktcha. This lake is a thousand feet higher than the summit we stand on: a storm-beaten and desolate sea, the thunder of whose billows dashing against the tremendous basalt cliffs is often heard for twenty versts away in the valleys below.

In the Kedabek valley, we had our first opportunity of examining the Asiatic turbine, which, as a mill-wheel, is universal in the Caucasus. In all that relates to hydraulics, Asia has an incontestable lead in antiquity. This is partly due to the necessity which makes irrigation a condition of cultivation over so large a portion of the continent: India, Turkestan, Persia, for example. Palmyra we now know to have been supplied with water from an underground canal across the desert; and the vast earthworks that remain in Mesopotamia give us some idea of the scale on which the canals were made from the Tigris and Euphrates. My friend Colonel Holland, who preceded General Gordon in China, tells me that the embankments in that empire surpass the whole work of the railways in Europe; while the light bamboo water-wheel employed there for irrigation, though probably in use for ages, is, I venture to say, a better contrivance than any we use, for the lifting of water to such heights as thirty feet. A Roman dipping-

wheel found lately in the Rio Tinto mines in Spain, is certainly not so good an appliance.

Of the turbine, my friend Wilson Sturge, who has been for some years British Consul at Poti, writes: "Early in the century, a Frenchman, I believe, introduced the turbine. When I was a boy, they were rare in England: in fact, hardly known. But the turbine or horizontal water-wheel, from which the turbine is developed, is the ordinary water-wheel in use here, and has been, no doubt, for centuries." The principle was known in France in the last century, but its practical application has only been made, as Wilson Sturge says, within our own era; if we except what is known in Scotland as Baker's mill, which is, I think, older. The oldest water-mill mentioned in history, was one at Pontus, described by Strabo; *i. e.*, on the Black Sea, not far from the Caucasus.

At Kedabek we were taken about half a mile down the valley to a mill belonging to a Tartar. The old man promptly and courteously showed us the mechanism. First a stream was led along an artificial channel, to get a head of about twelve feet. From this the water came down a shoot, made by hollowing a tree, which was placed at a slant of forty-five degrees: the open or upper side of the hollow being secured by a plank nailed lengthways over it. At the bottom was a horizontal wheel about three feet in diameter, set round on its upper side with stout float-boards, diagonally placed, to receive the impact of the water. The shaft or axle of this wheel went up through the mill-stones, of which the nether one was made fast to it. The foot of this driving-shaft rested in a bearing on a beam of oak, arranged as a lever, so that by tightening a wedge under one end of this lever, the turbine with the nether millstone could be lifted nearer the top stone; or vice-versa; thus determining the fineness or coarseness of the meal. On the wooden framing above the hopper was pasted a written prayer, in Arabic, from the Koran, "for

luck." The old miller told us he could grind about thirty-six poods of meal a day (a pood is $\frac{1}{3}$ of a cwt.). It is a pleasure to mention an instance of refined feeling on the part of this old Tartar: for he was so grateful for the few kopeks we gave him, that when we came away, he ran on in front of us for some hundred yards in order to place better stepping-stones in the brook we had to cross, and save us the chance of wet feet on a very cold day.

In the city of Tiflis itself, the whole of the corn is ground in stream mills, that is, mills worked by the rush of the river Kura against flat floats on wheels of large diameter. When these were invented I do not know; but they were first used in Rome, by Belisarius, during the siege by the Goths, in the sixth century.


But grinding by water-power implies a certain degree of civilized and settled life. If we go back for a moment from this to the family life of the nomad Tartars in the Steppe, we find ourselves at the beginning of things; and it was to me very interesting to trace from that beginning the development of the bread-oven which fills so important, though humble, a place in our daily existence.

The original oven is a pit dug in the ground, and lined with clay. I have a photograph, taken in the wilderness, of some Tartar women making bread for baking in one of these pits. An upper rim standing out of the ground, is made of wattle-work, the clay lining being carried to the top. When the oven is hot, the cakes of dough are wetted and stuck perpendicularly all over its sides, and the top is covered with cloths until the bread is baked. Now mark the evolution from this. If, in moving from one pasturage to another halting ground, the clay lining of the oven could be carried away in one piece, it would save a good deal of labor in making the next oven. By making the lining as a large jar or amphora, this was done; and the common oven of Western Asia is simply an amphora of six or seven feet high, let half way into the ground, and filled from the

top in the way I have described. To us it is a startling thing to see an Armenian baker, or a Syrian, take a cake in his hand and swing himself over the fire in this jar, to stick it on, while his feet are kicking, acrobat-wise, in the air. And not altogether appetizing is the sight of an unwashed boy, with a dingy cloth tied to the end of a stick, dipping it in whitey-brown water, and then flapping the cakes in the pit-oven to keep them from burning: or the baker's ragged coat stretched over the orifice to keep in the steam, and loaded down with an old camel-cloth, or donkey-cloth, or other unsavory fabric, on the top of which some passing Lazarus may lie down for a nap in the warm. I made a vow never to eat of that bread,—but “necessity knows no law.”

We have only to go a few steps in the same street to find a Turkish oven. This is the Asiatic one *turned on its side*; the lower side being flattened to lay the loaves on, and a door placed at the mouth, so as to work it horizontally instead of acrobatically! The Turkish oven is that of all western nations; and any one who is familiar with the dome-shaped clay ovens used in country cottages in England will be able to trace every step of the evolution from the Tartar pit in the desert, up to Huntley and Palmer's newest patent.

Now let us return to the agricultural tools. In the Museum at Tiflis there is a plough-share which gives us a clue to another very interesting evolution; that from the iron hoe to the shovel; and from this again to the iron plough.

A little thought would show, even if we had no historic evidence of it, that the  earliest instrument of tillage is a hooked stick drawn towards the worker; for if either of us were set down in a forest to begin farming without capital of any sort—for *the simplest tool is capital, as well as the handful of corn saved from last year*—we should have to sow seed of some kind; and to do so

we must make a furrow. If we picked up a stick and pushed it, we should find it harder than if we dragged it towards us; and a hooked stick is easier to drag than a straight one. A shovel, be it noted, is a pushing tool; a hoe is a pulling tool; and therefore a hoe was used earlier than a shovel. A rake is nothing but a multiple hoe; also used before shovels; though it must have been considered a dangerous innovation. Now for the historical confirmation of this.

The oldest tools, after flint implements, that have yet been found in the world, are some that were unearthed by Flinders Petrie in Egypt, in 1890. They were in the ruins of a town that was erected for the workmen who were to build the pyramid of Illahun, during the 18th dynasty—*i. e.*, 2,700 years B. C.—say a thousand years before Joseph was Viceroy in Egypt; or eight centuries earlier than Abraham.¹

In the illustration of some of the objects turned up, we have flint implements, wooden sickles set with flint teeth; and two hoes, of which the first is a natural fork of a tree, while the second is an improved form, with a broader edge made by setting a board at an angle with the handle, similar to the angle of the natural or branch hoe [Fig. 14]. This is nearly the pattern of the mamooty, or hoe, used all over the south of India at the present day, of which a sketch was lately given me by my friend Col. Carleton.

Now let us compare this hoe No. 13 with the wooden plough still used in Mysia, as figured by Sir C. Fellows, and in Syria; and we see at once that this original plough is simply a contrivance for making horses or oxen, instead of men, drag the hoe. We must bear in mind that iron was not in common use, so far as we can gather from Egyptian remains, until about 800 B. C.—or nearly 2,000 years later

¹ A useful mnemonic in Egyptian dates is that the Exodus of the Israelites took place as far before Christ as Columbus's discovery of America is after; *i. e.*, about 1,490 years. Bronze came into general use about the time of the Exodus.

than the wooden hoe found at Illahun. Copper *was* known : for a workman's frail was found, with copper tools, at the same time as the wooden implements.

After the discovery of iron it not only replaced wood, but led to improved patterns of tools ; and the hoe took, in Western Asia, the form of a triangle (like the shovel, Fig. 2), this is the Syrian pattern. By setting back the socket of the hoe, at a different angle, a new digging tool could be made—and this is the evolution of the iron shovel such as I had forged at Tiflis.

An amusing instance of the way in which the Asiatic people cling to old ideas, even in the use of a newer instrument, was given me by a friend who has been a good deal in Lebanon. The Friends have a school there, at Brumana, near Beyrout ; and Henry Newman, with Eli Jones of Maine, were visiting it. They noticed the smallness of the shovels, and to improve the agriculture, they sent to England for spades of larger size. A few days after the arrival of these, Henry Newman was taken aback at the way the Syrians worked them. A man drove the spade into the earth ; then stood still, and called “ Hi ! ” on which to young fellows, each with a rope fixed to the neck of the tool, dragged it up, lifting the mould, ready for the next dig ! But this is the universal plan in Palestine. [See fig. 17 which is taken from the Journal of the Palestine Exploration Fund, “ April,” 1890].

As the first wooden plough, then, was the wooden hoe dragged by an animal, so the first iron plough was a shovel dragged by a horse, or oxen, instead of by a man. In proof of this may be instanced a plough-share from Daghestan, in the museum at Tiflis, which is exactly like my Caucasian shovel, except that the socket alters its pitch ; and three plough-shares from Syria, all lent me by friends who obtained them in the country. The first is a model only, but precisely matching my shovel ; the second and third are actual implements taken from field-work. But these

two plough-shares from Palestine have a curious spike forged in front of each; and the rudiments of the same projecting point are visible on the Syrian hoe and the Syrian shovel pictured in the Quarterly Statement already cited. What is this? Evidently it is nothing more or less than the imitation, by the maker of the first iron plough—the *slavish imitation of the pointed stick of the wooden plough that went before it*, and that remained, and is still used in Asia, along with it. It is in fact a survival, which the more revolutionary blacksmiths of the Caucasus rightly discarded, as unavoidable in wood, but needless in metal.

In conclusion: In what way can we account for the identity which we have shown to exist between the mining tools used in Germany and Cornwall, and the Caucasus, and between the hoe and shovel of the Caucasus, with the like tools of Palestine?

They must have come, originally, from one centre; and in endeavoring to trace where this was, we instinctively turn in the first place to the sources of two of the great civilizations of the East—Egypt and Assyria. But I am assured by the authorities of the British Museum that hitherto we have no evidence of the shovel having been used either by the Egyptians or the Assyrians. In representations of brick-making on Egyptian Monuments we find the broad hoe used for working the clay, similar to the broad one a Illahun, much as the mamooty is used in India, and the hoe at Rio Tinto, instead of the shovel.

On the other hand, we not only find that both the hoe and the pointed shovel are now employed in Syria; but the latter was used anciently in countries like Italy, that came strongly under Phœnician influence.

The pointed shovel with the Syrian crossbar is still met with in Italy, and appears on an ancient tomb in Rome,¹ and is used to-day (though without the foot-bar), as well

¹ It may occur to some readers that the “spades” on playing cards are of this triangular shape; but I believe the cards themselves were introduced into Europe from the East.

as the pick, in Germany and Cornwall, where Syrian influence affected the mines.

I cannot find the same shovel at the Rio Tinto mines, which are near the Phœnician colony of Gades (Cadiz), but Captain Rich, the manager there, has favored me with an ancient pick found in the workings [Fig. 6], which corresponds in form to the one I brought from Tiflis, and to some ancient Cornish ones in the Truro Museum.¹

That the Syrian pattern of the triangular hoe and shovel is the *oldest* is proved by the survival, in them, of the spike imitating the preceding wooden hoe.

I therefore think Syria the original centre from which these implements came.

The Phœnician commerce will account for their being met with in Italy; and Phœnician mining explains their use in Germany, France and Cornwall. I believe the Hebrew migration under Shalmanezzer to Armenia and Aderbijan, and the exile of Phœnicians under the Assyrians, will account for the presence in the Transcaucasus of these Syrian tools, and the Syrian chant-music, as well as perhaps of the Syrian oven.

In ancient times not only were the Phœnicians the best artisans in the world in metals, but both they and their near kinsmen, the Jews, took the lead in jewelry, and gold and silversmiths' work: as the Jews do at the present day. Thus at Tell Defenneh (the Tahapanes of the Bible, or Daphne of the classic writers), the border town of Palestine and Egypt, Flinders Petrie records the discovery of goldsmiths' and jewellers' work on a considerable scale.

Similarly at the present day these arts in the Caucasus

¹ Suspecting that the cloths made by the peasantry in so Phœnician a district might still show some similarity to Western Asian fabrics, I asked Captain Rich whether certain striped patterns are used near Rio Tinto. He has sent me several interesting specimens of native cloths: one of them from a bolt that has been made in the same family for one hundred and fifty years. Some of these are almost identical with the woollen cloths woven and dyed by the Armenians among whom I travelled. But this is too wide a subject for the present paper.

and Northern Persia are mainly followed by the Armenians. Homer says that the very finest silver-work in the world was wrought by the Sidonians : and the finest needlework and embroidery. At this moment some of the most beautiful silversmiths' work in the world is in the Armenian bazaars in Tiflis and Northern Persia, and the finest work of the needle and the loom is found in the same district.

I have by me several photograph portraits of Armenians, some of them strongly Hebrew in features, from the former Persian city of Gangi ; the border country of the Medes, to which the exiles were banished by Shalmanezer. I do not dogmatize on these facts — but simply lay before the reader, for what they are worth, my own impressions on them ; which are briefly these :—

1. We know that the Israelite tribes and some of their kinsmen, the Phœnicians, settled in the districts now occupied by the Armenians : and we have no historic reason for supposing that they have since migrated to any other part of the world.

2. We find among the Armenians old national Israelitish airs in music ; old Syrian tools : the same oven that is used in Palestine : the same aptitude for fine metal-work and jewelry which distinguished the Jews and Phœnicians : the same ability in textile manufacture (as displayed in “ Persian ” and “ Turkey ” carpets, silk-work and shawls) : the same talent for commerce¹ : abstinence from eating pork : the employment in a non-semitic language, of several Hebrew words ; and the very general and very striking Hebrew type of features. It seems to me more likely, then, that the present Armenians are descendants of the Israelite exiles, than that the latter are “ lost.” In any case, as we turn from this most interesting country and people, we shall feel the force of the Frenchman's words : —

“ Nothing begins, but all things go on.”

¹ The Russians assert that “ it takes three Jews to outwit an Armenian.”

THE NEW FOUND JOURNAL OF CHARLES FLOYD, A
SERGEANT UNDER CAPTAINS LEWIS AND CLARK.

BY JAMES DAVIE BUTLER.

JEFFERSON was eager to acquire and to explore the far West. He was equally eager to obtain and preserve records of discoveries there made. In 1803, sending Captain Lewis a thousand leagues beyond man's life, he drew up for him an elaborate paper of instructions with manifold specifications of what to observe in the new-bought Louisiana, comprising at least the whole basin of the Missouri, if not also that of the Columbia. But in this document nothing is more noticeable than the precautions suggested to secure the information thus gathered from perishing by accidents of flood and field while in the force and road of casualty.

Thus he says, "Several copies of your notes should be made at leisure times, and put into the care of your most trustworthy attendants, to guard, by multiplying them, against the accidental losses to which they will be exposed. A further guard would be that one of these copies be on the cuticular membranes of the paper-birch [*Betula papyrifera*] as less liable to injury from damp than common paper." If, at any crisis, pressing forward should seem to mean entering the jaws of death, he ordered the explorers to turn back,—adding rather quaintly, "because in the loss of yourselves we should lose also the information you will have acquired." (Coues, p. xxx). Another instruction to Captain Lewis outward-bound was: "Avail yourself of all means to communicate to us, at seasonable intervals, a copy of your journal, notes and observations of every kind; endeavor to send two of your trusty people back by sea with a copy of your notes."

The proceedings of the Captains were correspondent to command. Their note-books, committed by Mr. Jefferson to the custody of the American Philosophical Society in Philadelphia, I have inspected at their rooms there. There are more than a dozen morocco-bound volumes, opening at the end, each about 8 by 5½ inches, with clasps. Every one, when written full, had been put into a separate tin case, cemented to prevent injury from wet.

A whole year of navigable water was consumed in stemming the Missouri current up to a point thirty miles above the present site of Bismarck. There the party of Lewis and Clark were frozen in until April 7th, 1805. Then, being about to adventure further west, Capt. Lewis sent his largest boat down the river, with orders to proceed as expeditiously as possible to St. Louis. By this barge the Captains transmitted to the Secretary of War every information in their power relative to the Indians and as to geographical details, adding other dispatches and especially a letter to the President. In this writing, Captain Lewis said: "I shall dispatch a canoe from the extreme navigable point of the Missouri or the portage between it and the Columbia. By this canoe I shall send you my journal and one or two of the best of those kept by my men." It proved, however, impossible to execute this purpose. He adds: "We have encouraged our men to keep journals, and seven of them do, to whom in this respect we give every assistance in our power."

But Captain Lewis was haunted to the end by fears that he and all his comrades would die and make no sign. Nor were such fears groundless. They had narrowly escaped starvation in the great mountains, whence not only men, but beasts and birds had fled. On the Pacific they waited five months watching in vain for espying fur-trader, whaler, or other white, and in one emergency they would have starved had not a whale been stranded near their camp, sent there, as they said, not to swallow them like Jonah,—but for

them to swallow. They were starved out from the seaside camp too early to find salmon in the river and months before mountain snows were passable. They were utterly unable to send tidings-bearers home by way of either Cape Horn or the Cape of Good Hope.

Such considerations led Captain Lewis to write the following *Notice*, with the names of his command. One copy of it he posted in his seaside quarters, and gave copies also to several of the natives. One of these lists years afterward reached Philadelphia by way of Canton and Boston :

The object of this *Notice* is, that through the medium of some civilized person who may see the same, it may be made known to the informed (*sic*) world that the party consisting of the persons whose names are hereunto annexed, and who were sent out by the government of the United States, in May, 1804, to explore the interior of the Continent of North America, did penetrate the same by way of the Missouri and Columbia Rivers to the discharge of the latter into the Pacific Ocean, where they arrived on the 14th of November, 1805, and from whence they departed the... [23rd] ...day of March, 1806, on their return to the United States by the same route they had come out. (Coues, p. 903).

Lewis's evil bodements confirmed the Shakespearian saying that "each substance of a grief hath twenty shadows." All his note-books, with those of Captain Clark, are now in a fireproof safety-vault at Philadelphia, with not a line erased and scarcely a word obscured.

The first printed account of the expedition was the *Journal of Sergeant Patrick Gass*. This work was published at Pittsburgh in 1807. The expeditionists arrived in St. Louis Sept. 23, 1806, and on April 11th of the next year a copyright was secured for Gass's volume.

It was seven years afterward before the official narrative, mainly compiled by Nicholas Biddle from the field-notes of the Captains, though with aid from the journal of Sergeant Ordway as well as that of Gass, saw the light. This

work by Biddle was not reprinted in full, from its appearance in 1814, till 1893, when it came out under the editorship of Dr. Coues with many notes.

In a review of that publication for *The Nation* last October (Nos. 1478 and 1479), the present writer expressed surprise that Dr. Coues had made no search for other journals which would have afforded additional sidelights analogous to those he had borrowed so often from Gass. It was suggested that he might by possibility have got on the track of Sergeant Ordway's journal, which had at one time been laid up in the same repository with the note-books of the Captains. According to the statement of Capt. Lewis, already referred to, seven of the men kept journals, and according to Gass "it had been enjoined on the several persons of the corps who were considered capable, to keep journals." Dr. Coues might well have answered that such a quest as I urged, for writings unheard of during more than fourscore years, was worse than a wild-goose chase and that,

" He in that hunt were as a drop of water
Which in the ocean seeks another drop. "

But my faith in the possibility of recovering some one of the half dozen missing journals had been increased in an odd way. Early in the first decade of our century a brother of my father sold a hat in Vermont to Robert Frazer, a fencing-master there, who absconded without paying for it. This Frazer enlisted under Capt. Lewis, and his name was given to a rapid and a creek near the head-waters of the Missouri. Before Frazer's return to St. Louis, my uncle himself had removed thither and was managing the hotel to which Frazer came for entertainment. Each recognized the other, and my uncle had no difficulty in collecting his debt. But Frazer proved to be one of the seven journalists and purposed to print his journal, he having, as well as Gass, obtained permission from Capt. Lewis. His prospectus, which of necessity was written, since there

was no printing in St. Louis till 1808, shows beautiful chirography, and promised a volume of four hundred pages. A copy of it is in my hands, which came to my father in Vermont from his brother at the West. As this document has never been printed save in my review, a copy of it will be appended to the present paper. I fancied it might fore-shadow the unearthing of one or more contemporary witnesses concerning our earliest interoceanic exploration. Such an apparition, coming after the three-fold narratives of Lewis and Clark and Gass, could not fail to be as welcome as a fourth gospel. It was in truth such a harbinger,—though not of the particular journal on which my hopes had fastened. My wish was father, not only to hope, but to fulfilment. On the 3rd of February, 1893, the journal of Sergeant Floyd came to light in the manuscript collections of the Wisconsin Historical Society at Madison. This book was found without being sought for, and so was the greater surprise. The present Secretary of that Society, Reuben G. Thwaites, one of our associates, was examining a high pile of note-books written by the earliest Secretary, Lyman C. Draper, while journeying in searches for historical material. On opening one of them, not unlike its fellows in size and appearance, the first words that met his eye were as follows:

“A Journal commenced at River Dubois Monday, May 14th, 1804. Showery day. Capt. Clark set out at 3 o'clock P. M. for the Western expedition (*sic*) the party consisted of 3 Serguntes (*sic*) and 38 working-hands which maned (*sic*) the Batteau (*sic*) and two Perogues,” etc. The record is self-evidencing. No one can read a page without confessing its genuineness. The wild enormities in spelling and idiom are beyond any forger, if there were any temptation to a forgery, and their testimony is clinched by undesigned coincidences, *a-la-Paley*, with the three journals before known.

One thing at first staggered me, namely, that Mr.

Draper, who through a generation had known me well, and also my interest in the discovery of our trans-Missouri, had never spoken to me of Floyd's journal. But his reticence became less mysterious as I considered what manner of man my friend Draper was.

The eyes, the thoughts, the heart of a miser are not so much on the havings he has hoarded as on those outside which he hopes for. Draper was a colossal collector. His first earnings were spent on a fire-proof building, in which he stored his accumulations. Everything rich and rare, historically speaking, he did his utmost to shut in behind his iron door. But when it was once garnered there and his will made bequeathing it to the Historical Society, he turned his back on it and had no eyes save for new conquests.

. . . . "notwithstanding thy capacity
Receiveth as the sea, nought enters there,
Of what validity and pitch so'er,
But falls into abatement and low price,
Even in a minute."

The steps by which our treasure-trove passed from the hands of its author to those of Dr. Draper, are not difficult to trace. Sergeant Floyd died near where Sioux City now stands ninety-nine days after the expeditionists had started. His death was on August 20, 1804. It was not till the 7th of April in the following year that Captain Lewis was able to send his barge down the river with despatches and all other articles which would encumber, however slightly, the overland adventurers. No doubt that boat bore Floyd's journal. It naturally would, and that it actually did, may be fairly inferred from the following sentence in Lewis's official letter to Jefferson, descriptive of what the barge conveyed. "I have sent," he says, "a journal kept by one of the Sergeants, to Capt. Stoddard, my agent at St. Louis, in order, as much as possible, to multiply the chances of saving something." As this journal was sent to St. Louis in the same boat with grape-seeds for Capt.

Clark's sister, and a letter to his brother-in-law, at Louisville, it is not unlikely that Floyd's writing was speedily transmitted to his father, who survived long afterwards in Kentucky. In the judgment of the President of the Kentucky Historical Society, R. T. Durrett, whom I have consulted, Sergeant Floyd's father owned a farm on Mill creek at Pond settlement, Jefferson Co., a few miles from Louisville. Capt. Clark's letter just mentioned—the autograph of which is now held by the Wisconsin Historical Society, and a copy of which is added to this paper—was no doubt forwarded from St. Louis to Louisville by the first opportunity. It is probable that the Floyd journal went with the letter. Both of them came together to Wisconsin. At all events, some relics of the son were brought home to the father at latest, when the adventurers returned in the fall of 1806. Of this fact we have a conclusive and touching proof.

In the autumn of 1805, at the point where the party first found the Columbia navigable, the tomahawk of Sergeant Floyd was missed and was supposed to be stolen, but as their business demanded haste they could do nothing for regaining it. Next year, however, arriving at the same camp, they heard of the tomahawk as in the possession of Indians on the neighboring Kooskooskee river. This weapon they say, “we were anxious to obtain in order to give to the relatives of our unfortunate companion, Sergeant Floyd, to whom it once belonged.” The original of Biddle's compilation, as I am informed by the Secretary of the Philosophical Society, runs as follows: “Captain Clark was desirous of returning it to his [Floyd's] friends. The man who had this tomahawk had purchased it from the Indian who had stolen it, and was himself at the moment of [our man] Drewyer's arrival just expiring. His relatives were unwilling to give up the tomahawk as they intended to bury it with the deceased owner. They were at length induced to do so [on the second day]—prin-

cipally by the influence of two chiefs who had accompanied Drewyer, and in consideration of a handkerchief and two strands of beads which, sent by Capt. Clark, Drewyer gave them, and two horses given by the chiefs to be killed, agreeably to their custom, at the grave of the deceased."

The beads and handkerchief represented a serious sacrifice of resources for procuring needful food on the part of the famishing wanderers. We may be sure that Capt. Clark, who was so earnest to secure a memorial of his officer, was not at rest till it had been transmitted, and perhaps with it the trivial, fond records from day to day, by the Sergeant, to his father's hand. Then was renewed the scene when Joseph's blood-stained coat had been brought to his father, who thereupon "rent his clothes and put sackcloth upon his loins and mourned for his son many days." A weapon with such a history would naturally go down for generations as an heir-loom, and by this token we may yet recover some missing links in the chain of evidence respecting the Floyd chronicle.

In truth, however, no link is really wanting. It is full forty years since Dr. Draper brought the Floyd manuscript to Madison, while, during the previous decade, he had scoured every corner of Kentucky, instant in season and out of season, to "beg, borrow, buy or steal" ancient papers,

"Picked from the worm-holes of long vanished days."

His amiable insanity was humored, and the more as it was known that whatever was given him would find the niche where it would be safest and most appreciated. It seems now clear that whoever vouchsafed Floyd's notes by the way, to Dr. Draper, building wiser than he knew, placed them where they would do most good.

"We'll set them in a shower of gold,
And hail rich pearls upon them."

The relations of the new-found narrative to those before

known deserve study, but they cannot now be fully exhibited.

The journal of Sergeant Floyd, even if it had not turned out to add any particle to our knowledge of the enterprise in which he laid down his life, would not be without interest. The writing of it would prove that, if he had little skill, he had right good will,—doing his little utmost till within two days of his own death, to record the progress of his party toward the utmost corner of the West. The finding of it must have encouraged faith that the six other journals known to have been kept, are still in existence,—especially those of Ordway, Prior, and Frazer,—as well as roused hope that they will not always remain in hiding. This find would lead to a more sanguine search for the Floyd tomahawk, so long lost, so fortunately discovered, so successfully recovered—ransomed with such a price, and brought home with such pains and from so far, as a solace to mourning friends.

But it was impossible that the fifty-three closely written pages of Floyd should fail to correct, complete, confirm or confute in various points the narratives of Gass and the Captains.

The first line of Floyd—that “Captain Clark set out at 3 o’clock P. M. for the Western expedition,” states a fact unknown from any other source. Gass is silent about the hour of starting, and Biddle’s words that “they were not able to set sail before 4 P. M.” must lead to a false inference concerning the hour and distance as well, unless his meaning is that they were then first able to exchange rowing for sailing. For Biddle calls the first day’s advance four miles. He must either mean four miles by sails, or he contradicts Gass, who states the distance made on the first day as six miles, and his statement is confirmed by Floyd.

Nothing in Biddle’s narrative, until the seventh day, would lead a reader to suspect what is plain from the first line in Floyd—that Capt. Lewis was not with the party

from the start. Nor could the date of his first appearance among them be ascertained before the discovery of Floyd's diary, in which it is mentioned as the great event of May 19th. Gass would lead us to think that date earlier and Biddle later than was the fact. Gass says Capt. Lewis "was to join them in two or three days" after the 14th of May, while Biddle's chronicle begins on May 21, by saying that "being joined by Captain Lewis we set sail" as if that were the day of his coming, when in truth he had been with them two days already, as we learn from Floyd, and from Floyd only.

Floyd was a poor speller, yet is always right in the orthography of the name Clark, which is never correctly spelled in either Gass or Biddle. In truth, Floyd's spelling is not a whit behind that of Captain Clark, as will be plain from a letter of the Captain's in the appendix to this paper.

In regard to the number of persons at the outset of the voyage, Biddle and Gass disagree. Gass says "The corps consisted of forty-three men, including Captain Lewis and Captain Clarke." Biddle's census is 9 Kentuckians, 14 soldiers, 2 watermen, 1 hunter, 1 negro, amounting to 27. To these he adds as extra hands, 7 soldiers and 9 watermen, forming a total of forty-three without the Captains. Coues sees no way to make the numbers tally save by tampering with the text of Gass, and changing the word "including" to excluding. Floyd's terse language may suggest a more excellent way. He says, "The party consisted of three sergeants and 38 working-hands." As he thought the captains too high, so he deemed the hunter and the slave too low to mention. None of them were working-hands. The hunter was a half-breed and the slave a negro, and probably served as the cook. Omit these two names and all three estimates agree.

In reading the very first page of Floyd we cannot fail to mark the contrast between his unsophisticated story and

that of Gass which, it is to be feared, no longer exists except as adulterated by the Scotch schoolmaster, David McKeehan, and which starts with half a page of sentimental reflections which Gass can never have written. On the other hand, we have the work of Floyd,—the *ipsissima verba*, as he wrote them—his vocabulary, his spelling, his grammar,—not one blunder corrected. With all their faults we love them still,—and the more for every one of them, as attesting genuineness and suggestive of more than they express.

That “arms and ammunition were inspected and found in good order” is a fact noticed by Floyd at times when unnoticed in the other chroniclers. He thus intensifies our feeling that the Captains neglected nothing. He was also more careful than the other writers to set down the hours of embarking and tying up, the wind, thunder, and matters meteorological, and especially the nature of the current. “Strong water” is a term peculiar to him. So are others, all bearing the same meaning, as “a strong piece of water,” “hard water,” “water bad,” etc. His stock of words was scanty, but he was probably first to introduce the word *Bowsman* into literature. Bowsman, instead of bownian, formed after the analogy of steersman, is a verbal form not to be found in Dr. Murray’s mammoth dictionary. The French *L’eau qui pleure* which Biddle translates Weeping water, becomes in Floyd *Cries Creek*.

Where Biddle and Gass disagree, Floyd, siding now with one and anon with the other, helps us form an opinion as to the truth. The width of the Kansas River which Biddle writes to be 340½ yards, both sergeants declare to be 110 yards less. So both sergeants set down one of the Charitons, which appears in Biddle 70 yards wide, as really 100.

Men differ as to the things they remark, and so Floyd naturally marked down some particulars which had escaped observation on the part of others. He only, at the Osage,

writes that there is a good *lick* there. In his native Kentucky, deer-licks and salt-licks were familiar household words, associated with good game and grazing lands. They could not fail to catch his eye. Biddle says, we remained at a point for taking observations, Floyd adds "we felled a number of trees there for that purpose." Both sergeants note the killing of the first deer, while Biddle dwells only on "necessary observations."

Floyd gives new information concerning horses. All three writers say the hunters had found a stray horse. Floyd only tells us that they swam him across the Missouri "to join the other horses,"—and that, as they went on, "the Tarkio was very miry for horses to cross." At a later date, Biddle says, "The two horses swam over to the southern shore." Floyd gives the reason; "We swam our horses over to the south side on account of the traveling being better there." Biddle's curt clause is, "Our horses had strayed but we were so fortunate as to recover them." Floyd's account is, "Two hunters had lost our horses, we sent George Drewyer to hunt them, and he returned with them next day." Floyd often gives the names of persons which are unmentioned by Biddle and even by Gass.

In regard to fishing, Biddle's words are, "A party went out yesterday and a second to-day," with nothing about names or numbers. We read in Floyd, "August 15, Captain Clark and ten of his men and myself went to the Mahas creek a fishing." "Aug. 16, Captain Lewis and twelve of his men went to the creek a fishing."

Floyd's relating circumstances, which Biddle either did not know or deemed beneath the dignity of history, gives the sketches of the former more vividness and often historic value. The first interview with Indians is a specimen of this sort. Floyd says, "To-day the Indians whom we had expected came. They fired many guns when they came in sight of us and we answered them with the cannon. When they came within about 200 yards of us Captains Lewis and

Clark met them. At shaking hands we fired another cannon. They were six chiefs, seven men and one Frenchman who has lived with them some years and has a family with them." Neither in Biddle nor in Gass is there any allusion to the firing, or to the Frenchman's having a family among the Indians, or to the shaking hands.

This last omission, concerning shaking hands, is especially unfortunate. That salute, as set down by Floyd, deserves to be pondered by those who hold, with Col. Garrick Mallery, in sign-language among North American Indians (p. 385), "that the practice of shaking hands on meeting, now the annoying etiquette of the Indians in their intercourse with the whites, was not until very recently, and is now seldom, used by them between each other, and is clearly a foreign importation." The more we scrutinize the Floyd relic the more indispensable it will appear as a new witness concerning the discovery of our trans-Missouri world. More than two months before the death of Floyd, mosquitoes had become so troublesome that mosquito-bars were distributed to the party, yet he never once speaks of those insects. This silence is the more remarkable since, while he was still with them, Biddle or Gass, ten times over, tell how they were annoyed, plagued and troubled by mosquitoes, each day more vexatiously than the last.

The sergeant does, however, note down, among matters omitted by other journalists, his great fatigue,—that at one time all the men were sick—that halts were made to rest and refresh them—that his hand was painful (probably from a boil),—and at last closes with the most obscure entry in his journal. The words seem to mean that he had been very sick, and that for some time, but had recovered his health. His death was just three weeks afterward.

APPENDIX.

Prospectus mentioned on page 228.

“Proposals for publishing by subscription *Robert Frazer's Journal*, from St. Louis in Louisiana to the Pacific ocean,—containing an accurate description of the Missouri and its several branches, of the mountains separating the eastern from the western waters, of the Columbia River and the Bay it forms on the Pacific ocean, of the face of the country in general; of the several tribes of Indians on the Missouri and Columbia rivers; of the vegetable, animal [and mineral] productions discovered in those extensive regions, the latitudes and longitudes of some of the most remarkable places,—together with a variety of curious and interesting occurrences during a voyage of 2 years 4 months and 9 days, conducted by Captains Lewis and Clark.

“Published by permission of Capt. Meriwether Lewis. This work will be contained in about 400 pages octavo, and will be put to the press as soon as there shall be a sufficient subscription to defray the expenses. Price to subscribers three dollars.”

This prospectus was sent to my father in Vermont years before I was born.

[Letter to Maj. Wm. Croghan (Geo. R. Clark MSS., Vol. 12. p. 4,)—Wisconsin Hist. Soc.]

Referred to on page 231.

FORT MANDAN, in Lat. 47 21 47 N.; Long. 101 25 W.

April the 2nd 1805.

Dear Major

By the return of a party of Soldiars and french men who accompanied us to this place for the purpose of assisting in transporting provisions &c. I have the pleasure of Sending you this hasty scrawl which will do little more than inform you where I am. My time being entirely taken up in preparing information for our government and attending to those duties which is absolutely necessary for the promotion of our enterprize and attempt-

ing to Indians deprives me the Satisfaction of giveing you a Satisfactory detail of this Countrey. I must therefore take the liberty of refuring you to my brother to whome I have enclosed a Map and Some sketches relative to the Indians. Our party has enjoyed a great Share of health and are in high Spirits. We shall leave this place in two days on our journey Country and River above this is but little Known our information is altogether from Indians collected at different times and entitled to some credit. My return will not be So Soon as I expected, I fear not sooner than about June or July 1806 every exertion will be made to accomplish this enterprise in a Shorter period, please to present me most respectfully to my Sister Lucy & the family and accept the assurance of my sincere affection &c.

WM. CLARK.

I send my sister Croghan Some Seed of Several Kinds of Grapes.

[Inside Front Cover.]

Recd. of Monsier Pier Shierker 5 Cartts			
of tobacko at 3s/0d pr. peece ———			
			\$2.50
Mayse Corn & Dolce Due ———			0.50
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Decemb Newman 1 Do	50 Cents	Jos. Field.	G. for T.
8th Shields 1 do	50		
1803 Gibson 1 "	50		
			\$2.50} Cents

March 13th 1804

Renued ouer Jouney
began our voyage much feteged
after yester day worke

A Journal commenced at River Dubois—monday may 14th 1804 Showery day Capt Clark Set out at 3 oclock P m for the western expidition the party consisted of 3 Serguntes and 38 working hands which maned the Batteow and two Perogues we Sailed up the missouria 6 miles and encamped on the N side of the River

Tusday may 15th 1804 Rainey morning fair wind the Later part of the day Sailed som and encamped on the N side some Land Cleared the Soil verry Rich

Wensday may 16th 1804 Set out eriley this morning plesent arrived at St Charles at 2 oclock P m one Gun Fired a Grait

number of French people Came to see the Boat &c this place is an old French village & Roman Catholick Some amerrikan settled in the Countrey around Thursday may 17th 1804 a fair day but Rainey Night Friday may 18th 1804 we Lay at St Charles Saturday may 19th 1804 a Rainey day Capt Lewis Joined us Sunday may 20th 1804 nothing worth Relating to day Monday 21th 1804 Left St Charles at 4 oclk. P m Show-erey encamped on the N Side of the River Tusday may 22d 1804 Set out after a verry hard Rain and passed Bonnon Creek on the South Side of the River came 15 miles encamped on the N Side of the River at Cliftes Some Indianes Came to see us wensday may the 23d 1804 we Set out at 6 oclock A m plesent day passed the wife of Osoge River three miles and half we pased the tavern or Cave a noted place on the South Side of the River 120 Long 20 feet in Debth 40 feet porpendickler on the South Side of the River high Cliftes one mile to a Creek Called tavern Creek and encamped on the South Side of the River our armes and amunition Inspected Thursday may 24th 1804 nothin Remarkble Nothing ocord this day encamped on South Side

Friday may 25th 1804 Set out and Came 4 miles passed a Creek Called Wood River on the South Side the Land is good & handsom the Soil Rich & high Banks encamped at a French village Called St Johns this is the Last Setelment of whites on this River

Saturday may 26th 1804 we Set out at 7 oclock A m 2 of our men was sent with the Horses by Land to meat us that night hard thunder and Rain this morning passed a creek Called Otter Creek encamped on the N Side

Sunday may 27th 1804 passed ash Creek on the South Side high Clifts on S Side arrived at the mouth of the Gasganade River at 5 ock P. m on the South Side encamped on an Island oppeset the mouth of the River which is a handsom Situation high hiles on the Left Side the Bottom is of Good quallity &c armes and ammunition Inspected.

monday may 28th 1804 rain Last night Severall men went out hunting &c one of them Killed a Deer Tuesday may 29th 1804 Rain Last night Set out at 5 ock P m Came 3 miles passed Deer Creek on the S. Side encamped all Night Jest above on the South Side on man Lost hunting French men Left for him

Wedsday 30th 1804 Set out 7 ock after a verry hard Rain and thunder it Rained During the Gratest part of the day with hail passed one Creek on the South Side called Rush Creek the Land is Low Bottom but Rich Soil 3 miles to River on the N Side called Littel muddy River the Land is some what Like the Loer it comes in opset an Isld 2 miles to River on the South Side Called painter River it Comes in opset to Isd in the midel of the missoura encamped South side at the mouth

thursday may 31th 1804 one perogue Loaded with Bare Skins and Beaver and Deer Skins from the osoge village one osoge woman with them our hunters went out and Kild one Deer we Lay By all this day on acount of the Wind the Land is Good but Broken it Rained and Cleard up nothing worth Relating to day

Friday June 1t 1804 Set out came one mile past one River on the N Side called Big muddy River comes in opset the Louer pint of willow Island the Land is of good quallity as aney I ever saw but Low two miles to Beaver Creek on the south side High Hill on the Loer Side it is about 30 yardes in weth at the mouth the day Clear wind from the west water strong Came 12 miles past several Islds encamped at 4 oclck at the mouth of the Grand osoge River Saterdag June 2d 1804 Lay By all this day for observations 4 men went out hunting Killed 4 Deer the day was Clear wind from the South the Land is of a good quallity High hiles on the S. Side a good Lick on the South S. Side it is about one mile and half from the mouth of the Gran osoge Dow the River a Butifull pint Betwen the two Rivers hills in the pints in about a mile Betwen the two the Second Bank is high at the mouth of this River at the pint a Butifull Isd Jest Below the pint it Lays in the midel of the Rivers our hunters Return how had Ben with our horses 8 day and Say the country is as good as aney they ever saw armes inspected all in good order the missorea is 875 Yardes wide osoge River 397 yardes wide we fell a number of trees at the pint for the porpas of oberservations.

Sunday June 3d 1804 Set out at 4 oclock P m the for part of the day Clear the Latter part Clouday with thunder and Rain wind from Est Capt Lewis and G. Drureay went hunting Kild one Deer & Grown hog 4 miles to River narrow on the South Side it is about 30 yardes wide and High Cliftes on the Loer Side of it 3 hundered yardes up the River Cliftes encamped at the mouth on the South Side ouer hunters Kild one Deer monday June 4th Set out Clear morning 2 miles By ouer Stersman Let the Boat Run under a lim and Broke our mast off 3 miles past a Creek on the South Side Called mast creek a Butifull a peas of Land as ever I saw walnut shoger tree ash and mulber trees Level land on both sides this Creek is Clear watter about 30 yardes wide one mile past a River on the N Side Called Sidder River the Land is Level and good 4 miles past Creek Called Zon Cer [Joncaire] on the S Side at the Loer pint of Isd on the same 3 miles to a pint on the N Sd Called Batue De charra prarie on the S Side high Cliftes on the South Side Strong water came 10 miles ouer hunters Kild 8 Deer encamt on the South Side under the Cliftes Tusday June 5th fair day pased Lead Creek on South Side of the River Littel Good woman Creek on the N Side Came

9 miles past the Creek of the Big Rock 15 yads wide at a 11 oclock we met 2 French in 2 Canoes lashed together Loaded with peltry &c they Came from 80 Legges up the Kensier River whare they wintered water Strong past Severall Isd Came 15 miles encamped on the N Side at the uper pint of Isd. the Land is Good well timberd well waterd ouer hunters Kild one Deer

wensday June 6th 1804 Set out 6 oclock after ouer mast mended 4 miles past a Creek on the N Side Called Rock Creek on the Loer Side Blow Cliftes 3 miles past Sallin Creek on the South Side Cliftes on the Loer Side Water good the fore part of the day the Latter part Strong came 18 miles ouer hunters Kild one Deer encampet on the N Side

Thursday 7th June 1804 Set out 5 oclock Came 2 miles past Som pringe Comes out of Cliftes 2 miles past a Creerk on the N Side Called the River of the Big Devil

one mile past a rock on the N Side whare the pictures of the Devil and other things we Kild 3 Rattel Snakes at that Rock 5 miles to Creek on the N Side Called Good woman Creek Strong water past severall Isd. George Druer Kild one Bar encampet at the mouth the Land is Good well timberd &c Friday June 8th Set out erley this morning the day Clear wind from the west Came 5 miles past 2 Canoes Lasht to Gather Loaded with Bever Skins otter Skins from the Littel River men thay ar 30 day Coming from that place 5 miles past the mouth of the Big River mine it is about 100 and 50 yades wide a butifull River on the South Side the Land is Good first Rate Land well timberd this River is navagbl for Som hundred miles aperintly water Strong past Several Isd. Came 10 miles our hunters Kild 5 Deer encamped on the Loer pint of an Island on the South Side of the River

Saturday June 9th 1804 Set out after a verry hard Rain Last night the morning Clear wind from the Est Came 5 miles past the Praria of arrows on the South Side half m. past the mouth of arrow Creek this Creek is 8 yads wide on the South Side this is a butifull Contry of Land the River at this place is 300 yads wide the current Strong 3 mls past Black Bird Creek on the N Side high Hills on the Loer Side the Latter part of the day Couday with Rain maid 10 miles encampt on an Isd in the midel of the River

Sunday June 10th 1804 we embarked at the yousel ouer and proseded on our Jorney 5 miles past a Creek Called Deer Lick Creek on the N Side 10 yads wide the Land High

Delayed 1½ ouers three mls past the two Charlitons on the N Side those Rivers mouth near togeathe the first 70 yads wide the Next 100 yads wide and navagable for Some Distance in the Cuntry halted and Capt Lewis Killed a Buck the Current is Strong a bout this place Came 12 miles past Severall Isd. ouer hunters

Killed 3 Deer incamped on the South Side at a priara this priara is High and well waterd &c ouer hunters Kilded nothing
 monday June 11th 1804 Day Clear wind from the N. West Lay By all all Day on account of the wind the Latter part of the day Clouday ouer hunters Kiled 2 Bar & 2 Deer Tuesday June 12 1804 we Set out at the Usial ouer the day Clear wind from the west Came 4 miles past a Creek on the S. Side Called Plumb Creek a bout 20 yads wide the timber in this Bottoms is Cotten wood 2 miles when we met 5 Cannoes from the Soux nations Loaded with peltry and Greece thay have been 13 mounthes up the missorea River Delayed $\frac{1}{2}$ day with the French Bought Some tallow of them ouer hunters Did not Return Last night one French man hiard to go with us up the missorea who can Speak the Difernt encamped on the N Side the Land Good Bottom wensday June 13th 1804 Set out at 6 oclock and Came $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles past a Creek on the N. Side Calleded River missorea Just above the Creek a Large Praria of Good Land on the N. Side at this Praria antunt [ancient] Missourue Indianes had a village at this place 300 of them ware Killed by the Saukus in former times a fair day past the Grand River on the N. Side the Land is Level on Both Sides a handsom Prarie on the Loer Side of it water Strong past Several Isd. Came 10 miles the Grand River is about 200 and 50 yads wide and Botes Can Go for Som hundreds of miles up it ouer hunters Killed yesterday and to day 1 Bar 2 Deer encampet at the mouth of the Grand River on the N. Side of the River

Thursday June 14th 1804 we Set out at the usuel ouer and proseded on our Jorney day Clear water Strong Came 3 miles met 2 Conoes with 3 French men and one Negro from the Poneye Nation they have ben up 3 years with the Indianes 2 of them is half pread of the poncas past a Creek on the N. Side Called the Snake Creek it is about 25 yads wide a noted place whare Indianes of Differnt nations Cross to Go to ware they Say that thar is hundreds of Snakes at this place ouer hunters killed one Deer encamped on the N Side of the River the Land is good about hear the Chief of the timber is Cotten wood. Friday June 15th we Set out at 5 oclock after much Feteaged of yesterdays worke pased a Creek on the South Side Called Indian Creek it is about 15 yards wide Good Level Land ouer hunters Killed 4 Bars and 3 Deer Strong water encamp on the N Side opset to antent old villag of Missures Indianes but the Saukus beng two trobelsom for them was forst to move and take protections under the Gran ossags as they war Redused Small handsom a prarie as ever eney man saw the river is 3 miles wide hear

Saterday June 16th we Set out at 8 oclock day Clouday with rain nothing Remarkeble to Day water verry Srong past one

place where the water flows over the Sand with great fall and very dangerous for Boats to pass past Several Islands made 10 miles over hunters Did not Return Last night encamped on the N. Side of the River the Land is Good here and well timbered

Sunday June 17th we Renewed our Journey much fatigued of yesterdays work Came one mile encamped for the purpose of making oars for our Boat and make a rope for the purpose of towing on the North Side of the River over hunters Returned and Killed on Bar one Deer and found a Stray Horse who had been lost for sometime nothing remarkable to day Monday June 18th Cloudy with Rain and thunder and wind from the East the Land at this Bottom is Good Land the timber is Cotton wood over hunters Killed one Bar 5 Deer nothing worth relating Tuesday June 19th Set out at 8 o'clock day Cloudy wind from the East Sailed past a Creek on the South Side Calleded Tabor Creek it is about 40 yards wide and Clear water below High Hills Good Land well timbered past Several Islands Strong water Came 13 miles encamped on the South Side of the River over hunters Did not Return Last night

Wednesday June 20th 1804 Set out Cloudy day Rain, Strong water past Several Islands Came 12 miles over Hunters Did not Return Last night encamped on an Island in the middle of the River

Thursday June 21st Set out at 7 o'clock Clear day past 2 Creeks on the South Side Called Deulau [Dieu l'eau] Creeks they come in opposite the middle of Island the water at this Island is very Strong the Land is Good and well timbered on the South Side the Land is high that on the N. is Low Land the timber is Cotton wood water Strong past Several Islands Came 9 miles over hunters killed one Deer encamped on the South Side at the upper point of Island the Land is Low that on the N. is High Land. Friday June 22d Set out at 7 o'clock after a very hard Storm thunder and Rain wind from the West, proceeded on under a gentle Breeze from the N. W passed a Creek on the South Side Calleded the Little Fire Creek it comes in opposite the middle of a Small Island on the South Side Strong water Came 9 miles encamped on the South Side at a Prairie this Prairie is Called Fire on the N. Side comes in a Creek Calleded the Big Fire Creek the Creek is about 50 yards wide and High Land

Saturday June 23d a Small Breeze from the N. W Set out at 5 o'clock Cloudy Came 3 miles Landed on account of the wind from the N. W arms and ammunition expected all in Good order Capt Clark went hunting Did not Return Last night we Continued on this Island all Day & night but Returned early in the morning Killed one Deer over Hunter Killed one Bear 4 Deer they encamped on an Island on the N Side

Sunday June 24th 1804 Set out at 5 o'clock A. M. wind from

the N. E. Sailed Day—Clear passed a Creek on the South Side Called Hay Creek it is about 40 yards wide Clear water Land High and Good well timberd Delayed 2 ouers to Dry som meat Capt. Lewis & my self went Hunting Kild one Deer & a Turkey passed a Creek on the North Side Called Charriton Creek it is about 30 yards wide passed a Creek on the Same Side Called the Creek of the Bad Rock it is not far below the other it is about 15 yards wide the Land is High and well timberd ouer Hununters Killed 8 Deer water Good made 13 miles encamped on the South Side the Land is Good first Rate Land on this pt. of the River we observe feeding on the Banks & the adjasent Praries imince Hurds of Deer, Bear is also plenty in the bot-toms.

Monday June 25th we Set out at 8 oclock after the Fogue was Gon pass a Coal Mine on the South Side above a Small Island, a Small Creek below which takes its name from the bank of Coal, and large Creek at about one mile higher up the River on the Same Side Called (un batteur La benne [La Charboniere] River) passed Several small Islands on the South side, some hard water, & camped on a small Island near the North Side Capt Lewis killed a Rabit, R. Fields a Deer this eving our flanking party did not join us this evening (my hand is painfull)

Tuesday June 26th we set out early proceeded on passed a Island on the the South Side, back of this Island a large Creek comes in calld Blue Water Creek (River Le Bleue) The Hills or High lands on the River which we passed last evening & this morning on S. S. is higher than usial from 160 to 180 feet encampt at the mouth of the Kansas River in the pint it comes in on the South Side

Wensday June 27th Lay By all this day ouer Hunters Killed 5 Deer Thursday June 28th Lay By all that Day the Kansas River is 200 30 $\frac{1}{4}$ Yards wide at the mouth the Land is Good on Booth Sides of thes Rivers and well timberd well waterd Friday June 29 Set out at Half past 4 oclock P. m. from the Kansas River proseeded on passed a run on the South Side at the mouth of Kansas River armes and amunition enspected all in Good order encampt on the N. Side Late in the evning Saturday June 30th 1804 Set out verry early this morning Saw a wolf on the Sind Bare passed the Littel River platte on the N. Side it is about 100 yards wide Clear water High Land on the Loer Side of it on this River it is Sayed that thare is a nomber of falls on it fitting for mills the land is Rolling campt on the South Side the Land is Low that on the N is the same.

Sunday July 1th 1804 Set out Clear day passed Small Creek on the South Side Called Biscuit C. High Land—passed a Creek on the S. Side Called Frog Tree Creek a Pond on the N S. Called the Same name Good water made 12 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles campt on an Isd near

the South Side ouer Flanken party Did not Join us Last evning. Monday July 2d Set out verry early this morning passed on the Left of the Isd parque &c High butifule Situation on the South Side the Land indifferent Lands a Creek Comes in on the N Side called parkques Creek passed a creek on the N. Side called Turkey Creek High Landes came 10 miles camppt on the N Side on the South Side was a old French fort who had settled hear to protect the Trade of this nation in the valley the Kansas Had a village between tow pints of High Praria Land a Handsom Situation for a town Tuesday July 3d Set out verry erley this morning under a Jentel Breas from the South found a Stray Horse on the South Side how Had Ben Lost for Som time water verry Strong So Hard that we Could Hardley Stem it Came 10 miles Camppt on the South Side the Land is verry mirey

Wensday July 4th 1804 Set out verry erley this morning passed the mouth of a Beyeu leading from a lake on the N. Side this Lake is Large and was once the Bead of the River it reaches Parrelel for Several miles Came to on the South Side to Dine rest a Short time a Snake Bit Jo. Fieldes on the Side of the foot which Sweled much apply Barks to Coor passed a Creek on the South Side a bout 15 yards wide Coming out of an extensive Prarie as the Creek has no name and this Day is the 4th of July we name this Independance Creek above this Creek the wood Land is about 200 yards Back of these wood is an extensive Praria open and High whigh may be Seen Six or Seven below saw Grat nomber of Goslins to day nearley Grown the Last mentioned prairie I Call Jo. Fieldes Snake prarie Capt. Lewis walked on Shore we camped at one of the Butifuls Praries I ever Saw open and butifulley Divided with Hills and vallies all presenting themselves Thursday July 5th 1804 Set out errley this morning Swam ouer Stray Horse a Cross the River to Join our other Horses prossed on for two miles under the Bank of the old Kansas village formaley Studd in 1724 the course of the Indians moving from this place I cant Larn but natreley Concluded that war has reduced thair nation and Compelled them to Retir further in to the Plaines with a view of Defending themselves and to operserve their enemey and to Defende them Selves on Horse Back encamppt on the South Side Friday July 6th 1804 Set out prossed under a Jentell Brees from the South west the water was So trong that we could Hardley Steem it Came 12 miles encamppt at the mouth of a Creek on the South Side of the River Called Whipperwill Creek it is 15 yards wide

Saturday July 7th Set out errley prosed a long passed some Strong water on the South Side, which Compelled us to to Draw up by the Cord Clear morning verry warm Strong water Came

10 miles Camt on the N. Side Sunday July 8th Set out at Sun Rise Rain Last night with wind from the E. passed some Good Land to day and High passed a Creek on the N. Side it cam in Back of Island it is a Bout 70 Yards wide Called Nadawa Creek the Land is Good and well timberd Camt on the N. Side Monday July 9th 1804 Set out erley this morning prosed on passed a Small Creek on the South Side Called monter Creek High Land Rain to day Sailed the Gratist part of the day passed a prarie on the South Side whare Several French famileys had Setled and made Corn Some Years ago Stayed two years the Indians Came Freckentley to See them and was verry frendley passed a Creek on the South Side Called wolf Creek it is about 60 yards wide the Land is Good water Strong made 10 miles encamt on the South Side Saw a fire on the N. Side thought it was ouer flanken partey Sent ouer perogue over for them and when they got over Saw no fire seposed it to be Indians fired ouer Cannon for ouer men Tuesday July 10th Set out when we Could See about us when we Came to the place it was ouer men which had Left us two days ago much feteged had Lay down and fell asleep passed a Small Creek on the South Side Called pope Creek it Comes through Bottom Land it is Called after a man who by drawning his Gun out of the Boat Shot him Self passed Som Strong water Campt on the North Side the Land is good Wendesday July 11th, 1804. Set out errley this morning prosed on passed a Creek on the N. Side Called Tarcio Creek it Comes in Back of a Isd on the N. Side Came to about 12 oclock P. m for the porpos of resting on or two days the men is all Sick encamt on an Isd on the Southe Side floos in Creek Called Granma mohug Creek it is about 100 yards wide the Land is good and well timberd High and well Waterd this Creek Runs up and Heds near the River platt—Thursday July 12 Som Hunters out on the No. Side those on the South Side not Return Last night ouer object in Delaying hear is to tak Some observations and rest the men who are much fategeued, armes and amunition enspected all in Good order—Friday July 13th Set out erley in the morning prosed on our Journey passed a Creek on the N. Side Called the Big Tarkue River it is about 40 yads wide and verry mirey for Horses to Cross the Land is Low a verry hard Storm Last night from the N. E which Lasted for about one ouer proseded with a Small Souer of Rain wind fare Sailed all day Came 20½ miles Camt on a Sand Bare in the midel of the River a Small Shouer of Rain Saturday July 14th 1804 Set out at day Lite Came one mile and ½ Came a Dredfulle hard Storme from the South which Lasted for about one ouer and half which Cosed us to Jump out and hold hir She Shipt about 2 Barrels of water Came one mile the wind fare Sailed passed a Creek on the N. Side Called Neeshba Creek it is about 40 yards wide the Land is Low encamt on the Southe Side

Sunday July 15th 1804 Set out at Six oclock A. m pased a Creek on the South Side Called Plumb Run water verry Strong passed a Creek on the South Side Called Nemahaw Creek it is about 30 yards wide the Land is High and Good encamt on the South Side.

Monday July 16th we Set out verry early and prossed on the Side of a Prarie the wind from the South Sailed ouer Boat Run on a Sawyer Sailed all day made 20 miles passed Sevrall Isd Camt on the North Side

Tuesday July 17th 1804 Lay by all this day for to kill Som fresh meat Capt. Lewis & Go. Druger went out Hunting Drugher Killed 3 Deer the Land is prarie Land the Blufs puts in about 2 miles from the River and all Prarie Land betwen which Runs up and Down for Som distance from 20 to 30 miles Wendesday July 18th 1804 we Set out at Sun Rise the day Clear wind fair Sailed the Side of the Prarie Hear we toed for about 5 or 6 miles the Elke Sine is verry plenty Deer is not as plenty as it was below passed Som High Clifts on the South Side Which hase the apperence of Iron ore the Clay is Red passed a verry Strong pace of Water. Saw a Dog on the Bank Which we sepose to be Indians had ben Lost this is the first Sine of Indians we have Saw Camptd on the South Side the Land is Low that on the N. Side is prarie Land

Thursday July 19th we Set out errly this morning prosed on passed a Run on the South Side Has no name we Called Cherry Run the Land is High Cliftes and pore whare a Grate number of thos Cherres thay Gro on Low Bushes about as High as a mans hed Came 9 miles past Several Isd. water Strong Campt on the South Side on a Small willow Isd. near the South Side the Land on the N. is Low, Land that on the South is High prarie Land Friday July 20th Set out at 6 oclock proseded on passed he mouth of a Creek on the South Side Called Crys Creek it is about 35 yards wide it Comes in above Clifts oppset a willow Isd. at this Clift thare is a fine Spring on the top of this Hill is oppen prarie passed a Creek on the N. Side Called Piggen Creek the Land is Low that on the South is High prarie Land passed Several Bad Sand Bares Campt on the South Side under a Large Hill

Saturday July 21th 1804 Set out at 4 oclock a m prossed on ouer Jouney Rain this morning wind fair Sailed passed the mouth of the Grait River Plate on the South Side it is much more Rappided than the missorea it is about from one mile to 3 miles wide the Sand Roles out and formes Large Sand Bares in the middel of the missorea up the Plate about one mile the Hills of Prarie Land a bout 2 days and half up the Plate 2 nations of Indians Lives vic The Souttoes the Ponney this River is not navigable for Boats to Go up it passed a Creek Called

the on the South Side it is about 20 yards wide it Comes out of a Large Prarie Campt on the South Side

Sunday July 22d Set out verrey erley this morning prossed on in Hopes to find Some Wood Land near the mouth of this first mentioned River but Could not we prossed on about 10 miles at Lenth found Som on Both Sides of the River encampt on the North Side monday July 23d 1804 we Lay By for the porpos of Resting and take Som observations at this place and to Send for Som Indians Sent George Drougher and ouer Bowsman wo is aquainted with the nations nothing worth Relating to day tuesday July 24th we mad Larg and Long fage Staff and Histed it up Histed ouer Collars in the morning for the Resceptions of Indians who we expected Hear when the Rain and Wind Came So that we wase forst to take it down Sent Some of ouer men out to Hunt Some ore timber for to make Some ores as the timber of that Coind is verrey Carse up the River Continued Showery all day Wendesday July 25th Continued Hear as the Cpts is not Don there Riting ouer men Returned whome we had Sent to the town and found non of them at Home but Seen Some fresh Sine of them.

Thursday July 26th ouer men fineshed the oares nothing worth Relating except the wind was verrey villant from the South Est.

Friday July 27th Swam ouer Horses over on to the South Side on acount of the travilen is beter Set out at 12 oclock P. m prossed on under a Jentell Brees from the South Este Sailed made 10 miles encamt on the South Side at Prarie

Saturday July 28th Set out verrey erley this morning prossed on passed a Creek on the North Side Called Beaver Creek is about 20 yards Wide the Land is Low that on the South is Prarie Land Rain the fore part of the day the Latter part Clear with wind from the North Est. made 10 miles Campt on the N. Side the Land is Low that on the South is High prarie Land ouer flanken partey Came with one Indian thay found on the South Side Sunday July 29th we Set out after we Dspashed the Indian and one of ouer men with him to bring the Rest of his party the Reasen this man Gives of His being with So Small a party is that He Has not Got Horses to Go in the Large praries after the Buflows but Stayes about the Town and River to Hunte the Elke to seorte thare famileys passed the mouth of Boyers River on the N. Side it about 30 yards wide the Land is Low Bottom Land out from the River is High Hills Campt on the North Side at a prarie

monday July 30th Set out verrey erley this morning Cam 3 miles Sopt for the man whome we Had Sent with the Indian yesterday He has not Returnd Yet Sent 2 men out Hunting Did not Return Last night Campt on the South Side at prarie

Tuesday July 31th 1804 we Lay By for to See the Indianes who

we expect Hear to See the Captens. I am verry Sick and Has ben for Somtime but have Recoverd my helth again the Indianes have not Come yet this place is Called Council Bluff 2 men went out on the 30th of July and Lost ouer horses

Wendesday august 1the 1804 Lay by all this day expecting the Indianes every ouer Sent George Drougher out to Hunt ouer Horses Sent one man Down the River to whare we eat Diner on the 28th of July to See is aney Indianes Had been thare He Returnd and Saw no Sigen of them

Thursday august 2d Ouer men hough we had Sent after ouer Horses Returnd With them and Killed one Elke ouer men Killed 3 Deer to day the Indianes Came whou we had expected thay fired meney Guns when thay Came in Site of us and we ansered them withe the Cannon thay Came in about 2 hundred Yardes of us Capt Lewis and Clark met them at Shakeing Handes we fired another Cannon thare wase 6 Chiefs and 7 men and one French man with them who has Lived with them for som yeares and has a familey with them Friday august 3dth the Council was held and all partes was agreed the Captens Give them meney presentes this is the ottoe and the Missauries the Missouries is a verry Small nathion the ottoes is a verry Large nathion So thay Live in one village on the Plate River after the Council was over we took ouer Leave of them and embarked at 3 oclock P. m under a Jentell Brees from the South Est Sailed made 6 miles Campt on the South Side the Land Low, that on the N. prarie Land

Satturday august 4th 1804 Set out erry this morning after the Rain was over it Rained Last night with wind and thunder from the N. W. it Lasted about an ouer prossed on the morning Clear passed a Creek on the South Side as it has no name and the Council was Held below it about 7 miles we Call it Council Creek or Pond this Creek Comes out of a Large Pond which Lays under the High prarie Hills the wood Land is not plenty hear ondley along the River Banks in places, passed Som bad Sand bares enamt on the South Side a Large prarie that on the N. is prarie Land Sunday august 5th Set out erley this morning Cam 2 miles when a verry hard Storm of wind and Rain from the North Est it Lasted a bout 2 ouers and Cleard up I have Remarked that I have not heard much thunder in this Countrey Lightining is Common as in other Countreys a verry Large Snake was Killed to day Called the Bull Snake his Colure Somthing Like a Rattel Snake passed Severall Bad Sand bares made 16 miles Campt on the North Side at Som wood Land that on the South is wood Land

monday August 6th 1804 we Set out at a erley ouer this morning prossed on passed a Creek on the N. Side Called Soldiers Creek it Comes in Back of a Isld near the N. S. about 12 oclock Last night a villant Storm of wind and Rain from the N. W. Camt on the South Side the Land is Low that on the N. S. the Saim

Tuesday August 7th Set out at 6 oclock A. m prossed on day. Clear wind from the North west on the 4th of this month one of ouer men by the name of Moses B. Reed went Back to ouer Camp whare we had Left in the morning, to Git his Knife which he Had Left at the Camp the Boat went on and He Did not Return, that night nor the next day nor Night, pon examining his nap-Sack we found that he had taken his Cloas and all His powder and Balles, and had hid them out that night and had made that an excuse to Desarte from us with out aney Jest Case we never minded the Said man utill the 7th we Sent 4 men after him we expect he will make for the ottoe town as it is not mor than 2 days Jorney from whare he Run away from us Water Good made 16 miles Campd on the North Side at Some Wood Land

Wendesday Augt. 8th 1804 Set out this morning at the usele time day Clear wind from the N. W. prossed on passed the mouth of the Littel Soue River on the N. Side it is about 80 yards wide this River is navigable for Boates to Go up it for Som Distance in the Countrey and Runes parel with the Missourie 2 miles above on a Sand Bare Saw Grait Number of Pelicans Capt Clark went out on the South Side and Jo Collines Killed on Elke water Bad mad 12 miles Campd on the N. Side the Land is Low marche Land that on the South is prarie Land Thursday augt the 9th Set out at 7 oclock a m after the fague was Gon which is verry thick in this Cuntrey Capt Clark and my Self went out on the South Side passed a verry Bad place in the River whare the water is verry Shellow mad 17 miles Campd on the South Side at prarie

Friday augt the 10th Set out at errley ouer this morning prosed on passed a bad Sand bare Which is verry Shallow made 23 miles Camped on a Cand bare on the N. Side the Land on the S. S. is High Hilley Land

Saturday august 11th 1804 Set out after a verry hard Storm this morning of wind and Rain continued untill 9 oclock A m then Cleard up prossed on passed a high Bluff whare the Kinge of the Mahas Died about 4 yeares ago the Hill on which he is berred is about 300 feet High the nathion Goes 2 or 3 times a year to Crye over him Capt Lewis and Clark went up on the Hill to See the Grave thay histed a flage on his Grave as noner for him which will pleas the Indianes, passed the mouth of a Creek on the South Side Called Waie Con Di Peeche or the Grait Sperit is Bad whare this Chief died and about 300 Hundred of his men with the Small pox this Chiefs name was the Black Bird made 15 miles camped on the North Side Sunday august 12th 1804 Set out at the usel time prosed on under a Jentel Brees from North Est Sailed day Clear passed Red Seeder Bluffs on the South Side made 16 miles Camped on a Sand bare in the Middel of the River monday august 13th Set out verry erley this morning prosed on under a Jentel Brees from the South-Est Sailed morning

Clouday about 10 o.ck. it Cleared up we aRived at the Mahas Village about 2 oclock P m Sent Som of ouer men to Se if aney of the natives was at Home thay Returnd found none of them at Home

Tuesday august 14th Lay by for ouer men How we had Sent after the Desarter on the 7th thes Indians has not Live at the town Sence the Smallpoks was so bad abut 4 years ago thay Burnt thare town and onley live about it in the Winter and in the Spring Go all of them in the praries after the Buflow and dos not Return untill the fall to meet the french traders thay Rase no Corn nor aney thing excep Som times thay Rase Som Corn and then the Ottoe nation Comes and Cuts it Down while thay are in the praries

Wendesday august 15th Capt Clark and 10 of his men and my Self went to the Mahas Creek a fishen and Caut 300 and 17 fish of Difernt Coindes ouer men has not Returnd yet

Thursday august 16th Capt Lewis and 12 of his men went to the Creek a fishen Caut 709 fish Differnt Coindes

Friday august 17th Continued Hear for ouer men thay did not Return Last night Satturday augt 18th ouer men Returnd and Brot with them the man and Brot with them the Grand Chief of the ottoes and 2 Loer ones and 6 youers of thare nattion

[On last fly-leaf.]

the 22th June

Charles Floyd

Winser 22thd

R. Field 22thd

J. Field Gard for thompson 16th July

Newman 4

Gass Gard for thompson

MCNeel

thompson

[Inside of last cover.]

CHAS. FLOYD Bought

at River Debaus 13th March

1804

Thomas M. Winn

Thomas M

Thomis Thomis

Thomas M. Winn

Elaxander Willard

George Shannon

William Lebouch

Lasuness

Pall

Jo^s Whitehouse

CONCORD.

BY JOHN MCKINSTRY MERRIAM.

I HAVE been asked to prepare for record in the Proceedings of this Society a brief summary of a visit by many of its members to the town of Concord, June 6, 1893, the fourth of a series of excursions planned by our senior Vice-President, and upon his invitation, to the more important historic places in Massachusetts. There is no place in the length and breadth of America which has greater and more varied significance to the student of our history than the town of Concord. Senator Evarts has said that nobody knew what the world was waiting for after the discovery of America until Concord was settled one hundred and fifty years later. "But when Concord was settled, it was known that that would have been impossible if America had not been discovered, and Concord produced, justified Columbus." Underneath the keen wit of the after-dinner speaker, there is much truth in these words. The simple story of Concord, traced but vaguely through the struggle for American independence, through American statecraft and jurisprudence, art and letters, is a complete answer to the labored efforts of Abbé Raynal and the other French writers of a century ago to prove that the discovery of America had resulted more in human ill than human good.

The farm of Simon Willard and the site of the house of Peter Bulkeley were the first two places visited by our party. They are also the two places which were most closely associated with the very beginning of Concord's history. Rev. Peter Bulkeley and Maj. Simon Willard were

the leaders of the little colony of fourteen families or more, who obtained from the General Court, September 2, 1635, a grant of a plantation six miles square at Musketaquid. By the terms of this grant the name of the place was hereafter to be Concord, a name selected because of the Christian union of the members of the first company.¹ This was the first settlement in Massachusetts above tide-water, the plantation being at that time "away up in the woods," bounded on all sides by Indian lands, with Watertown and Cambridge as the nearest neighbors.

The work thus undertaken by these hardy pioneers was, as Governor Winthrop says, "to begin a town," and it is instructive to notice the three objects which were first accomplished. Peaceful possession of the soil was acquired from the Indian dwellers, by a bargain concluded at the house of Peter Bulkeley, by which the land was fairly purchased and satisfactory compensation made. The deed was subscribed by the marks of Squaw Sachem and Tahattawan, and other representatives of the native owners, and "the Indians declared themselves satisfied and told the Englishmen they were welcome."

Civil order was established by the formation of a New England town, Maj. Simon Willard probably being the chief Selectman.

A Christian Church was organized July 5, 1636, with Peter Bulkeley as teacher and John Jones as pastor. Thus three objects were accomplished which justified these earnest adventurers in giving to their new settlement the name of Concord — rightful possession, civil order, and religious worship.

The story of the purchase of the land from the Indians is preserved on a bronze plate set in granite, marking the site of Peter Bulkeley's house, and bearing the inscription :

¹ Shattuck's History of Concord, p. 5, note.

HERE IN THE HOUSE OF THE
REVEREND PETER BULKELEY
FIRST MINISTER AND ONE OF THE
FOUNDERS OF THIS TOWN
A BARGAIN WAS MADE WITH THE
SQUAW SACHEM THE SAGAMORE TAHATTAWAN
AND OTHER INDIANS
WHO THEN SOLD THEIR RIGHT IN
THE SIX MILES SQUARE CALLED CONCORD
TO THE ENGLISH PLANTERS
AND GAVE THEM PEACEFUL POSSESSION
OF THE LAND
A. D. 1636.

Peter Bulkeley is a marked example of the choice grain which God sifted from a whole nation to plant in the wilderness of America. "He was of noble family, a man of wealth, a scholar and divine." He was the father, the prophet, and counsellor of his people, a friend and correspondent of John Cotton and John Wilson, the moderator of the first ecclesiastical council in New England, and a valued leader among the Puritan clergymen.

Two of his manuscripts have been preserved in the collections of this Society, one being an earnest defence of Congregationalism against Episcopacy.

The motto on his coat of arms, "*Nec temere, nec timide*," is the essence of the Puritan character. Quiet, unfaltering courage to accomplish dearly cherished and carefully determined ends brought the Pilgrims to Plymouth, led Bulkeley and Willard through the wilderness to Concord, guided the Minute Men in their resistance to British tyranny, and firmly planted constitutional government in State and nation.

The farm of Simon Willard is marked by an inscription on a panel in a stone near the Three Arch or South Bridge:

ON THIS FARM DWELT
SIMON WILLARD
ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF CONCORD
WHO DID GOOD SERVICE FOR
TOWN AND COLONY
FOR MORE THAN FORTY YEARS

The story of this farm has been delightfully told by one of our associates, Rev. Grindall Reynolds, in a lecture entitled, "The Story of a Concord Farm and its Owners," which was delivered before the Concord Lyceum, February 1, 1883. On this farm is the hill Nashawtuck. Evidence *in perpetuam memoriam* of the Indian occupation of this hill is found in the inscription on a large rock known as Egg Rock.

ON THE HILL NASHAWTUCK
AT THE MEETING OF THE RIVERS
AND ALONG THE BANKS
LIVED THE INDIAN OWNERS OF
MUSKETAQUID
BEFORE THE WHITE MEN CAME

Simon Willard cared for the civil and temporal interests of the people of Concord as zealously as Peter Bulkeley ministered to their spiritual welfare. He was the leading magistrate from the beginning; he served as Town Clerk for eighteen years; as Deputy of the General Court almost continuously from 1636 to 1654; as military Commander of the forces of Middlesex County, and as Assistant. He was often called upon to settle boundaries between the lands of individuals, of towns, and even between Massachusetts and New Hampshire. He was also entrusted with the duty of selling strong water, which, Mr. Reynolds tells us, was in itself almost a certificate of good character, as rum selling was then committed to men in high standing. It would thus seem that there is a precedent near at home for one feature of the so-called Norwegian system of liquor selling, which has been under consideration by our Legislature during the present year.

A place closely associated with the early growth of Concord, and of Middlesex County, is the site of the old Town House and Court House on the west side of the open space which has been the Public Square to the successive generations from Peter Bulkeley and Simon Willard to the present day. One of the tablets erected by the town tells us that:

NEAR THIS SPOT STOOD
THE FIRST TOWN HOUSE
USED FOR TOWN MEETINGS
AND THE COUNTY COURT
1721—1794.

From King Philip's war to the Revolution there is little in Concord's history beyond the usual life of a quiet country town. This century is important, however, as a period of preparation for the conflict for independence, and for the construction of a new order of governments under written constitutions. It has recently been made the subject of special study by Charles H. Walcott, whose "History of Concord in the Colonial Period" has given much of interest in addition to the earlier work of Shattuck.

The discipline of this period, to use a passage from Senator Hoar's address at the 250th anniversary of the Incorporation of Concord, was threefold. The heroic temper of 1775, the peculiar genius for war displayed by the Revolutionary heroes, and the fitness of the fathers of the Constitution for their untried task, came from the constant discipline of the people in "war, straining to the utmost every resource of courage, endurance and skill,"—"from the century-long discussion of the natural rights of the people, their rights under the charter and British Constitution which lay at the foundation of the State,—and the constant consideration of the relation of man to his Creator and to the controlling law of duty."

From this school-time of rugged discipline, we come now to the glorious result.

The most sacred spot in Concord is the battle-field at the North Bridge. Well might the Centennial orator be moved to exclaim, "Let us put off the shoes from off our feet, for the place whereon we stand is holy ground!"

Near the battle-field, our party was joined by Judge John S. Keyes, the authority of Concord in matters of local history and the genial President of Concord's quarter-millennial in 1885. As we approached the bridge, Judge

Keyes briefly told the story of the famous fight of the 19th of April, 1775, and pointed out the positions of the King's troops and the "embattled farmers," the rallying point of the Minute Men on Punkatasset Hill,¹ their approach to the bridge to rescue their homes from apparent destruction, the place where the British fire was received and the order given by Major John Buttrick, "Fire fellow-soldiers, for God's sake, fire," the spot where Captain Isaac Davis fell, and the path of retreat of the British soldiers. After this account by Judge Keyes, the members of the party, scattering in groups of three or four, reviewed the well-known incidents of the fight, paying due honor to Major Buttrick, Col. Robinson, Col. Barrett, Captains Davis, Brown and Hosmer, Lieutenant Hoar, and their men from Concord, Acton, Lincoln and other neighboring towns.

The story of the Concord fight has been told in many ways by historians, poets and orators, but the most eloquent of them all will always be the beautiful and spirited statue of the Minute Man. Here, on the spot which received the blood of the gallant Captain Davis, near where the command was given which made the Declaration of Independence inevitable, the sculptor has embodied in a figure of enduring bronze the very genius of the place,—the alert and uncompromising patriotism, ever ready to turn from peaceful industry to the manly defence of home and country.

I know of no other place so appropriately marked by monuments as the battle-field of Concord. There can be no better preparation for the study of America's history

¹ This place is marked by a tablet with the inscription :

ON THIS FIELD
THE MINUTE MEN AND MILITIA
FORMED BEFORE MARCHING
DOWN TO THE
FIGHT AT THE BRIDGE.

than a visit to this battle ground. No lover of country can turn from the immortal words of Emerson :

“ By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world.”

No true American can gaze on the calm, determined face of the Minute Man, and not feel his pulses beat more quickly with intenser love of country and increased pride in his glorious birthright.

From the North Bridge, our party returned to the village, past the old Elijah Jones house, which is now the home of Judge Keyes. It was in this yard that the British troops halted after they were driven from the bridge. A bullet from a British gun, directed at the Americans on the hill in the rear, lodged in the shed of the house, and the hole has been carefully preserved and treasured — pardon the inaccuracy of my language — by the enthusiastic owners of the house. Another interesting object at this point is the stone over which Captain Davis fell as he was shot dead by the first British volley, which has been moved to a prominent position in the yard.

We are told that the British troops retreated in some confusion to the village, and then turned back to Boston, protected, so far as possible, by flanking parties. The Americans, in the meantime, crossed the great fields or meadows from the North Bridge to Meriam's Corner, where they were joined by Minute Men from Bedford and Reading. At this place the flanking party came down from the hill to the level ground “ with a slow but steady step, without music, or a word being spoken that could be heard,” according to the description of the Rev. Edmund Foster, an eye-witness from Reading. “ Silence reigned on both sides. As soon as the British gained the main road and passed a small bridge near the corner, they faced about suddenly and fired a volley of musketry upon us. They

over-shot, and no one, to my knowledge, was injured by the fire. The fire was immediately returned by the Americans and two British soldiers fell dead at a little distance from each other in the road near the brook. Several of the officers were wounded, including Ensign Lester."

The place of the encounter is the extreme eastern end of the Concord settlement, at the junction of the Lexington and Bedford roads.

The Meriam brothers, Joseph, George and Robert, came from Hadlowe, in Kent County, early in the history of Concord. One or more of them may have been with Bulkeley and Willard in 1635. It would seem that one of them came first to reconnoitre, and returned to England for his family and brothers. The name is frequently found in Concord's history from 1638. The first recorded birth is that of Elizabeth Meriam, November 8, 1641, and the oldest stone in Concord is over the grave of Joseph Meriam, a son of the first Joseph, who died April 20, 1677. At the time of the Revolution there were three Meriam houses at this corner, one of which, the Ephraim Meriam house, on the Bedford road, is standing to-day. An older house, which was occupied by my father's grandfather, Josiah Meriam, was located on the Lexington road, about the same distance from the junction of the roads as is the existing house. All traces of this house have disappeared, but its location was pointed out to me by my father a short time before he died. Josiah Meriam was a sergeant in Captain Joseph Hosmer's company of Minute Men, and his son, Josiah, Jr., was a private in the same company.¹ In February, 1775, the father was one of a Committee appointed by the town to inspect the Minute Men, and to enforce the three articles of their organization, which pledged the signers

(1) "to defend to the utmost of our power, his majesty, King George the Third, his person, crown and dignity ;

¹ *Mass. Muster and Pay Rolls*, Vol. 35, p. L. 18, p. 78, file L.

(2) “at the same time, to the utmost of our power and abilities, to defend all and every of our charter rights, liberties and privileges, and to hold ourselves in readiness at a moment’s warning, with arms and ammunition thus to do ;

(3) “and at all times and in all places to obey our officers chosen by us and our superior officers, in ordering and disciplining us, when and where said officers shall think proper.”¹

Josiah Meriam was a member of the Committee of Correspondence for Concord from 1777 to 1782 inclusive, and in 1779 was a delegate to the State Convention.²

On the morning of the nineteenth of April, when the alarm was given in Concord that the British soldiers were coming, Josiah Meriam, with his older sons, Josiah, Jr., and Timothy, went to the village, and later were among the forces at the North Bridge, and probably crossed the meadows and appeared again at the encounter near their house. Joseph, the youngest son, my grandfather, then seven years old, remained at home, as he always said, “to take care of the women,” and soon went with them to a place of refuge in the woods behind the hill. The British soldiers entered the house, helped themselves to whatever breakfast they could find, taking the unbaked pies from the oven, took the kettle of soft soap from the crane over the open fire, spilled it upon the floor, and scattered the ashes from the fireplace. It was fortunate that they helped themselves liberally in the morning, for later in the day they repassed the same house when hot johnny cake and new baked bread and fragrant pies could not tempt them to linger.

My grandfather lived to be eighty-nine years old. He must have been among the very last who could, from actual recollection, tell the story of the 19th of April. Toward the end of his life he was asked if he thought the British soldiers understood the art of war. His reply was that

¹ Shattuck’s History of Concord, p. 94.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 121, 122.

“he did not know whether they did or not when they came into Concord, but he was pretty sure they did before they went out of it.”

The old flint-lock used by Josiah Meriam at the North Bridge has come to our family. It is probably one of the oldest guns of the Revolutionary relics, as, according to family tradition, it was originally brought from England by the first Joseph Meriam before 1638. The name—Ioseph Meriam—on the barrel, in ancient letters, makes this tradition probable.

Meriam's corner has been marked by a stone placed in the corner of the wall, bearing the words:

MERIAM'S CORNER

THE BRITISH TROOPS
RETREATING FROM THE
OLD NORTH BRIDGE
WERE HERE ATTACKED IN FLANK
BY THE MEN OF CONCORD
AND NEIGHBORING TOWNS
AND DRIVEN UNDER A HOT FIRE
TO CHARLESTOWN

But Concord's glory is not alone in the annals of the Revolution. In the days of peace she has won even fairer laurels. Here were the homes of Emerson, of Hawthorne, and Thoreau. Lowell has said that never has it happened to any other town so small as Concord to have living in it as contemporaries three such men. Here, too, lived and wrote the sweet author of “Little Women”—and in the quiet shade of Sleepy Hollow, not far distant from the scenes familiar to them all, they rest, while the peculiar influence of each one reaches out, with ever continuing force, into and through human thought and life.

It is vain to attempt to enumerate the many features of Concord which have made it famous, and to which the different members of our party frequently alluded. No other town in America can show three houses, on hardly more than an acre of ground, from which have come in fifty

years six representatives to the Congress of the United States, one of whom has been called to prominent service in the Cabinet of the President, and another to influence and power in the United States Senate.

My summary must include something, however, of the burial-places of Concord. I have already referred to Sleepy Hollow, a spot designed by nature, it would seem, as a resting-place for the noble dead. Below the ridge, where in close proximity, are the graves of Emerson,¹ Hawthorne, Thoreau and Miss Alcott, is the family burial-lot of Samuel Hoar, an illustrious father of yet more illustrious sons. The monument in the centre of the lot bears this beautiful passage from Pilgrim's Progress —

THE PILGRIM,
they laid in a chamber
whose window
opened toward the sun rising.
The name of the chamber was
PEACE.
There he lay till break of day
and then
He awoke and sang.

The tribute by Senator George F. Hoar, to his father, is inscribed on the lower panel of this monument, and is as follows :

SAMUEL HOAR
of Concord
born in Lincoln May 18, 1778;
died in Concord Nov. 2, 1856.
He was long one
of the most eminent Lawyers, and
best beloved citizens of Massachusetts.

¹ The quartz boulder near Emerson's grave now bears an inscription on a bronze panel :—

RALPH WALDO
EMERSON
BORN IN BOSTON MAY 25 1803
DIED IN CONCORD APRIL 27 1882
THE PASSIVE MASTER LENT HIS HAND
TO THE VAST SOUL THAT OER HIM PLANNED
18 .

A safe counsellor, a kind
neighbour, a Christian gentleman.

He had a dignity
that commanded the respect,
and a sweetness and modesty
that won the affection
of all men.

He practised an economy
that never wasted,
and a liberality
that never spared.

Of proved capacity for
the highest offices,
He never avoided obscure duties.

He never sought
stations of fame or emolument,
and never shrank
from positions of danger or obloquy.

His days were made happy
by public esteem and private affection.

To the latest moment of his long life

He preserved his clear intellect
unimpaired, and, fully conscious
of its approach met death
with the perfect assurance
of immortal life.

On the stone over his mother's grave, Judge E. Rock-
wood Hoar has written the following beautiful epitaph :

MRS. SARAH HOAR
WIDOW OF SAMUEL HOAR
AND YOUNGEST CHILD OF
ROGER SHERMAN,
OF CONNECTICUT.

BORN IN NEW HAVEN, JAN. 11, 1783,

DIED IN CONCORD AUG. 29, 1866.

AGED 83.

WITH CLEAR GOOD SENSE, STRONG LOVE
OF JUSTICE, AND A RESOLUTE WILL,
HER VIVACITY AND CHEERFULNESS
CARRIED THE SPIRIT OF YOUTH INTO OLD
AGE. SYMPATHIZING WITH EVERY
DETAIL OF HUMAN LIFE, SHE KNEW NO
SUPERIORS, AND NO INFERIORS; BUT,
HONORING ALL MEN, ASKED OF OTHERS
HER OWN FAITHFUL PERFORMANCE OF
EVERY DUTY; AND RELIEVED THE

YEARS OF PAIN AND INFIRMITY BY
DEVOTING THEM TO HELPING
THE POOR, THE FRIENDLESS, THE
IGNORANT AND THE SINFUL.

The epitaph on the stone which marks the grave of Elizabeth Hoar, written by her brother, Edward S. Hoar, describing so beautifully a beautiful life, is like the sweet music accompanying a grand and noble song :

MISS ELIZABETH HOAR.

died April 7, 1878, aged 63.

Her sympathy with what is high and fair
brought her into intimacy with many
eminent men and women of her time.
Nothing excellent or beautiful escaped
her quick apprehension; and in her
unfailing memory precious things
lay in exact order as in a royal treasury,
hospitably ready to instruct and
delight young and old. Her calm
courage and simple religious faith
triumphed over sickness and pain; and
when Death transplanted her to her
place in the garden of the Lord, he
found little perishable to prune away.¹

At the grave of Col. George L. Prescott several members of our party paused to express tender memories of his gallant service and of his sweet personality. A simple cross marks this grave, and on it the true tribute—“Faithful to the last.”

Col. GEORGE L. PRESCOTT,
Died before Petersburg, Va.,
June 19, 1864.

¹ At the grave of Edward S. Hoar in their lot, a stone has recently been placed bearing the inscription:

EDWARD SHERMAN HOAR,
Born Dec. 22d 1823. Died Feb. 22d 1893.
He cared nothing for the wealth or fame
his rare genius might easily have won.
But his ear knew the songs of all birds.
His eye saw the beauty of flowers and the
secret of their life. His unerring taste
delighted in what was best in books.
So his pure and quiet days reaped their
rich harvest of wisdom and content.

Our Librarian has recalled, in the following letter, a little incident of Col. Prescott's service, characteristic of his quiet earnest patriotism :

Worcester, Mass., June 14, 1893.

MY DEAR MR. MERRIAM :

Our Concord day, June sixth, was indeed both charming and instructive. You ask me to recall a brief conversation with you when you found me alone by the grave of Col. George L. Prescott. My relation to him, as to all the officers and men of the Fifth Army Corps of the Army of the Potomac, was unique. I was at the front in 1863, '64 and '65, the Field Relief agent of the United States Sanitary Commission for the noble Maltese Cross Corps, which was commanded by such soldiers as Porter, Sykes, Warren and Griffin. At the time of Prescott's death, Warren was his Corps Commander, and Griffin the Commander of his — the First — Division. But to the incident : On his last march of any length, while he was riding with Adjutant Kingsbury at the head of his regiment, I joined them. Their conversation had evidently been upon the prevailing topic of re-enlistment, for, as I saluted them, he said, with a gentle firmness which illumined his fine face, "Yes, Adjutant, there is but one thing for us to do — we must see this through," and, as with many another hero of the Sir Philip Sidney stamp, while the end of the war was not afar off, the end of this dear Colonel's royal service therein was nearer than he knew.

Very truly yours,

EDMUND M. BARTON.

The older burial-grounds are nearer the centre of the village. That on the hill is probably the oldest. A slate has been set in the wall marked —

On this Hill
the Settlers of Concord
built their Meeting House
near which they were buried
On the southern slope of the ridge
were their Dwellings during
the first winter
Below it they laid out
Their first Road and
on the summit stood the
Liberty Pole of the Revolution.

The grave of Colonel John Buttrick is here. It is marked by a stone bearing an inscription written by Governor Sullivan :

In memory of
Colonel JOHN BUTTRICK,
who commanded the Militia Companies
which made the first attack upon
the *British Troops*,
at *Concord North-Bridge*,
on 19th of April, 1775.
Having, with patriotic firmness,
shared in the dangers which led to
American Independence,
He lived to enjoy the blessings of it,
and died May 16th, 1791, aged 60 years.
Having laid down the sword
with honor,
he resumed the plough
with industry;
by the latter to maintain
what the former had won.
The virtues of the parent, citizen, & christian
adorned his life,
and his worth was acknowledged by
the grief and respect
of all ranks
at his death.

The well known epitaph over the slave, John Jack, is found here.¹ It was undoubtedly written by Daniel Bliss, Esq.

¹ This epitaph is as follows :

God wills us free; — man wills us slaves.
I will as God wills; God's will be done.
Here lies the body of
JOHN JACK,
A native of Africa, who died
March, 1773, aged about 60 years.
Tho' born in a land of slavery,
He was born free.
Tho' he lived in a land of liberty
He lived a slave,
Till by his honest, though stolen labors,
He acquired the source of slavery,
Which gave him his freedom :
Tho' not long before

The beginning of the change from the old slate stones, which — as good fortune would have it — were so universally used in our older graveyards, to the more modern white marble, is shown by this inscription :

This stone is designed
by its durability,
to perpetuate the memory,
And by its colour,
to signify the moral character
of
MISS ABIGAIL DUDLEY,
who died June 4, 1812,
aged 78.

Unfortunately, however, this stone is proving less durable than the discarded slate, and at times weather stains and dirt have sadly impaired the force of its inscription.

The graveyard near the old Block house on Main Street probably contains the dust of Rev. Peter Bulkeley and his son, Rev. Edward Bulkeley. The exact location of their graves has been forgotten, but the statement was made by Senator Hoar that he had understood that these early ministers were buried a short distance inside of the gate, and to the left.

In the half-century sermon of Dr. Ripley is a reference to the place of burial of Concord's first three ministers, the two Bulkeleys and Mr. Estabrook, stating that they were probably buried in a tomb together. Dr. Ripley gives the Latin epitaph, which is found in Mather's *Magnalia*,¹ translating it

“ Bulkeley is now gone, who had long since gone ;
Nor hath he changed his country nor scarcely his life ;
Thither he has gone, whither he was won't to go, and
where he already was. ”²

Death, the grand tyrant,
Gave him his final emancipation,
And set him on a footing with kings.
Though a slave to vice,
He practiced those virtues,
Without which kings are but slaves.

¹ p. 404.

² “Obiit jam qui jamdudum ablerat Bulklaus ;
Nec patriam ille mutavit, nec pene vitam ;
Eo ivit, quo ire consueverat, et ubi jam erat.

He adds “that this inscription is not to be found in the graveyard, — that no stone designates the spot where this distinguished saint was buried or entombed. If the spot can be ascertained (which is probable), I would that at least a plain block of granite should there be placed, with his name indelibly inscribed.”

But this wish of Dr. Ripley still remains ungratified, and we have only the tradition pointing to the location of the tomb.

I have thus outlined roughly and imperfectly the chief objects which interested us at Concord.

The old church, where the first Continental Congress met, and over which Hancock presided, the Old Manse, — dear alike to history and to story, — Wright’s Tavern, the Revolutionary houses, the home of the Concord Grape, the Soldiers’ Monument, the interesting collection of the Concord Antiquarian Society, — the Library and its priceless manuscripts, — all these I can simply name, knowing, however, that every name will bring to mind a chain of pleasing memories.

One paragraph more — We wish gratefully to acknowledge the courtesy of Judge Keyes, and Mr. George Tolman, the Curator of the Concord Antiquarian Society, to whom we were indebted for much of the pleasure of our visit. The day was rounded out and made complete by the hospitality of Samuel Hoar, Esq., who turned our thoughts from Peter Bulkeley and the Concord fight to a bountiful lunch, and by a banquet in the evening in Boston, tendered by our host, — Senator Hoar, — to whose thoughtfulness the entire pleasures of the day were due.

ABORIGINES OF THE WEST INDIES.

BY FREDERICK A. OBER.

A NEGLECTED field of scientific research, yet lying adjacent to and between the two great continents of America, is that comprising the vast collection of islands known as the West Indies. Although containing the first islands discovered by Columbus, and including the seas first traversed by Spanish ships, in the New World, it was many years before the actual condition and population of those islands was made known to the civilized world. Even now, less, perhaps, is known respecting them than of many portions of lands considered as unexplored. No longer ago than 1878, I had the pleasure of discovering some twenty species of birds, which had until that time rested in obscurity, unknown and undescribed, and of sending to the United States the first collection of aboriginal implements used by the Caribs of the Lesser Antilles.

The West Indies are divided, as is well known, into the Greater and Lesser Antilles, the former comprising the islands of Cuba, Jamaica, Santo Domingo or Haiti, and Puerto Rico, to which we may add the Bahamas; the latter, that crescent-shaped archipelago called the Caribbean Chain, connecting the larger islands with the continent of South America. These, again, are locally divided into Windward and Leeward, with reference to their situation respecting the prevailing trade-winds.

All these islands were inhabited, at the time of their discovery, by people called, by Columbus, "Indians," who were possessed of characteristics which distinguished them from any others at that time known to Europeans. It is my

purpose to attempt to designate the chief centres of population, at the period of discovery ; to indicate the status of civilization, as shown by the remains yet in existence ; the distribution of these Indians in ancient times ; and such of their descendants as still dwell in these islands. The first islands to which we shall give our attention are those first discovered by Columbus in October, 1492 :

THE BAHAMAS.—The incidents of that first voyage across the Atlantic are, of course, familiar to all. I myself have traced the wanderings of Columbus throughout Spain, have followed in his footsteps after the Court of Ferdinand and Isabella, have visited the convent of La Rabida, and sailed the historic Rio Tinto. Again, I have visited and explored all the islands discovered by him, have investigated the matter of the first Landfall, and have studied the circumstances of his different actions on the scenes of their occurrence. It is not my intention to revive these incidents of the voyages of Columbus ; but to recall the people and discoveries of his time.

We are told by the historian that the people seen on the islands where Columbus first landed, were of a tawny or copper complexion, that they went about naked, and possessed but few of the articles considered necessary to civilized man. For a full description I must refer you to the “ Life of Columbus,” by Washington Irving, and the narration of Las Casas, from which Irving drew his material,—the Journal of Columbus. They possessed no article of iron or bronze, their weapons being lances tipped with fish-bones or stone, and bows and arrows. Their huts were of the simplest materials, made of palm-leaves, such being amply sufficient in the delightful climate of those tropical islands. The fact, that remains of these Indians have been found in caves, and under overhanging rocks, does not warrant us in the inference that they were in any sense Troglodytes ; since the Bahamas abound in such caverns, and to them these people naturally turned for refuge, when sub-

sequently pursued by the Spaniards, and for shelter. They were gentle and peace-loving, as we have testimony from Columbus himself; shapely and athletic; having no wars, except with occasional invaders from the south. All their traditions, of origin, of the existence of gold (a few ornaments in which metal they wore), of invasion, of a country greater than their own, pointed to the south. They told Columbus that he could find gold in great quantities in the south, as well as a great chief, and numerous other peoples. At the time of their discovery, these Bahamas possessed tame parrots (which no longer exist on Watling's Island, but are found on Acklin, about a hundred miles away), and these seem to have been the only domesticated pets, from the scant animal life about them. The most noticeable article they owned was the canoe (*canoa*), the largest holding more than forty men, which they propelled by means of paddles, and baled out with calabashes.

At Guanahani, then, the aborigines were found possessed of parrots, crude implements of bone and stone, canoes, huts of palm-leaves, a few articles of gold, and little, if anything, else, except cotton. Later on, at the third island visited, called by Columbus Fernandina, now known as Long Island, the Europeans added to this brief list, hammocks, tobacco, and cassava bread. "Their beds and coverings," says Columbus, "looked like cotton nets, which they called *hamacas*," and, "the Indian captured by us in the channel between Santa Maria and Fernandina had some dry leaves, highly prized, no doubt, among them, for those of San Salvador offered some to me as a present." This was tobacco, which was afterwards found in quantities in Cuba, where the natives were seen smoking it.

The Indians of the Bahamas were soon exterminated, although Columbus did not revisit the scene of his discoveries; and as early as 1508, when the cruelties of the Spaniards had nearly depopulated Haiti, the natives were carried hence to labor in the mines. Under their cruel

enslavers the Lucayans sank rapidly ; it is on record that some forty thousand were transported, never to return, and the islands once teeming with happy life were finally left desolate. I cannot state exactly the period of their depopulation ; in the year 1512, when Ponce de Leon sailed through the Bahamas in search of the fountain of youth, he found some of the islands inhabited, for he was told of the famous fountain by natives of the northern islands ; but doubtless the southern ones were already deprived of all their inhabitants, even so early. Respecting that search for the mythical fountain of youth, I may say, that my investigations were made in the island of Puerto Rico, whence De Leon sailed on his quest, and that there I discovered that his remains are yet treasured, as well as many relics of his time. He cruised the archipelago just twenty years after Columbus, and also in 1521, the year of his death, when he was wounded on the coast of Florida, taken to Cuba, where he died, and thence his remains brought back to Puerto Rico.

Doubtless, the natives were entirely exterminated before the end of the XVIth. century, as when the English settled the Bahamas, about 1629, not one remained. The historians, Herrera and Martyr, give all details of the means by which their extermination was hastened, and to their pages I would refer the curious student. I find reference to them in a work published in 1666, as follows : “ That poor nation, the Lucayos, hath been utterly destroyed by the Spaniards, or carryd away and made slaves to work in the mines, and there are not, in any of the islands known under that name, any of the natural inhabitants ; but only some few English, who were transported thither out of the island of Bermudez.” We may confidently assume that it is full three hundred years since the Bahamas knew the presence of any of its aboriginal inhabitants. Let us now examine the evidence of their former occupancy, as given in the few relics recovered at various times. Of the people them-

selves, the Lucayans, or Ceboyans as they have been termed, few remains have been found, and these few mainly in caves. Several skeletons have been recovered, but I cannot learn that any skeleton in its entirety has been deposited in any museum. In the public library of Nassau, New Providence, are two crania of the aboriginal Ceboyans, and I brought one skull from Watling's Island, which was exhibited at the Chicago Exposition, and afterward given to the Columbian Museum. Of these crania, Prof. W. K. Brooks, of Johns Hopkins University, says: "The skulls are extremely broad in proportion to their length, and are among the most brachycephalic of all human skulls, the greatest breadth being more than nine-tenths of their greatest length. The brain was large, and the capacity of the cranium about equal to that of an average Caucasian skull. The Ceboyans flattened their heads artificially in infancy, so that the vertical part of the forehead is completely obliterated in all adult skulls, and the head slopes backward immediately above the eyes."¹ I myself found bones and many fragments in the caves I explored on Watling's and Cat Islands; but all the caves of the Bahamas have long since been thoroughly investigated, during the search for cave-earth or bat guano. As these investigations were not conducted in the interests of science (I may remark), such bones and crania as were found were not taken into account, and in most instances were lost to the museums. The dry earth of the caves was the best medium possible for preserving objects deposited therein, and not only bones, but various articles of domestic use among the Lucayans, have been discovered. At the Jamaica Exposition, of 1891, were exhibited many such articles, and among them a few that are almost entirely unique: such as a carved seat of *lignum vitæ*, a stone axe inserted in a handle of wood, and another with head and haft of one stone. The seats of wood are described by the early his-

¹ See *Popular Science Monthly*, Nov., 1889.

torians, as seats used by the chiefs, made in the form of beasts and reptiles, and carved out of one piece of wood. One such specimen is now preserved in the Smithsonian Institution, at Washington, and another is in the public library of Grand Turk's Island, Bahamas. The Spanish Consul at Grand Turk, Mr. Geo. J. Gibbs, owns the celebrated stone axe in one piece, a cast of which was obtained by Prof. Henry, of the Smithsonian, twenty years ago. Prof. Henry, at that time, valued the original at \$500, but I have information that Mr. Gibbs will dispose of it now for some \$200, if a purchaser can be found. This specimen is considered absolutely unique, and I trust that some museum in America will be fortunate enough to secure it.

In addition to these important relics of native workmanship, which were found in caves in the Caicos and Grand Turk, the usual "celts" are discovered, though rarely, throughout the entire chain. As the Bahamas include some two thousand islands and rocks, and the character of the calcareous rock is such that caves and pot-holes abound everywhere, it is possible that many articles may yet be found, that have escaped the eyes of the guano hunter. Throughout the islands, the smaller celts are known as "thunderbolts," and are treasured by the present natives as of celestial origin, and possessing supernatural virtues. They declare that they fall from the clouds, in time of storm, and I have met with individuals who told me they themselves saw some descend. One old darkey declared to me that he saw one strike a tree, in the midst of a flash of lightning, and afterwards recovered the identical stone. This name is of universal application, and in the Spanish islands the stones are called "*piedras de rayo*," — thunderbolts, — as well as in the English and French islands. A strange fact may be noticed with reference to these celts, and that is, that all, or nearly all, are made from stone not to be found within the area of the Bahaman chain. They are most assuredly of foreign origin, and were probably brought here from the

southern islands, as Puerto Rico or Santo Domingo; another evidence of the truth of the statement by the early historians, that the Indians performed long voyages in their canoes. They are of fine, dark stone, compact in grain, and polished, being excellent specimens of the neolithic age. One small celt, which I obtained at Long Island, is of perfect shape and exquisitely rounded, and resembles another which I got in the interior of the island of Santo Domingo. All that I have seen are of this dark-green stone, and I have not found any of any other kind. There is no evidence of implements having been made from conch shell, which is so abundant, and from which the natives of Barbadoes and the southern islands made their chisels and other articles. One remarkable specimen, which was discovered in a field, by a negro, in 1892, and brought to Nassau during my stay there, is ten and one-half inches long, three and one-half inches broad, and has carved upon it a face, as in a moon, with oblique, oriental eyes. This is also of dark-green stone, probably jade or serpentine, and is the only one of the kind I have seen.

In the Smithsonian collection are several specimens from the Bahamas, obtained by the U. S. ship *Albatross*, some of which are figured in my recent work, "In the Wake of Columbus"; as also, are several typical forms of "axes," one of the crania, and a wooden seat. These things that I have mentioned comprise nearly all the types found in the Bahamas, showing the condition of Lucayan art.

I should not omit to mention a canoe which was found in a cave on Watling's Island, but of which, since its discovery, I can find no trace. In an enquiry into the origin of these relics, we cannot find that any are absolutely unique, or autochthonic, except, possibly, the stone axe in one piece, and the stools, or seats. But even these latter are found in Haiti and Santo Domingo, — on the north coast, — and from this fact one might imply a south-

ern origin for all these articles, or a similar people inhabiting there. Herrera speaks of the first ones discovered in Cuba, on the first visit of Columbus, as follows: — “seats made of a solid piece of wood in the shape of a beast with very short legs and the tail held up, the head before with eyes and ears of gold.” These were used only by the chiefs, the common people squatting on the ground. The two specimens in the Smithsonian are from Turk’s and Caicos islands; but there is a stone specimen of this type, also, from Puerto Rico; and it is thought that the form may have been suggested by the hammock, as the stools have a similar curve or sweep.

The Indians of the Bahamas doubtless depended chiefly for subsistence upon the products of the sea: fish, which are so abundant around the shores of their islands, and especially upon conchs, found in countless numbers on the reefs and in the shallow lagoons. Of animal food they probably partook but sparingly, there being no large quadrupeds on the islands; and birds must have been hard to capture. Sea birds and their eggs, in the season, gave them supplies, probably, and they ate the flesh and eggs of the iguana, which is still common, turtles also, with their eggs; the seas abound in turtle.

They cultivated but little, the soil of the Bahamas being thin, and in many of the islands contained in more or less extensive pockets in the calcareous rock; but they had maize and “yucca,” perhaps fruits like the pine-apple and others native to the soil. Nature was kind to these children of nature, and they led a careless existence, depending chiefly upon the bounties of the sea.

CUBA.—Following still in the trail of Columbus, and taking the island next discovered by him after he left the Bahamas, we arrive at Cuba, which he discovered the last of October, 1492. He landed on the north coast, probably at or near the present port of Jibara, and there saw the Indians of that island.

They were more advanced than the inhabitants of the Bahamas,—but on the same lines of progression,—probably owing to the superiority of their island over the others, in point of size and fertility. That is, they had better and more numerous houses, hidden in shady groves, more extensive fields of maize and manioc, and more numerous articles of domestic use. Coasting the northern shore of Cuba,—which, by the way, still retains its aboriginal name,—Columbus discovered villages and people similar to the Lucayans, and sent an embassy into the interior, to treat with the cacique, whom he is supposed to have assumed was the Grand Khan. When the embassy returned, the navigators learned their mistake; but they had added several articles to previous “finds,” and found the inhabitants possessed of a slightly higher type of civilization, as has been mentioned.

They found the Indians smoking tobacco, in rolls; their huts hung with hammocks, and using the carved seats, to which allusion has been made. They had also greater stores of cotton, in yarn and woven into nets, a greater variety of fruits, and also of animals from which to derive subsistence. In addition to the larger number and more numerous species of birds, there were also several mammals, non-existent in the Bahamas. These indigenous mammals of Cuba are: the two species of *Hutia*, or *Yutia*, — *Hutia Poeyii* and *H. Forrier*; — a small animal known as the *Almiqui*, — the *Solanum Cubanum*; — the *Javalli*, or peccary, and the “Dumb Dog,” which by some is thought to have been a raccoon, but more probably was an animal now extinct. Little gold was found in the keeping of the natives, but they told of a region of gold to the southward, which they called Bohio, since proven to have been the island of Haiti.

Cuba was left, for twenty years after its discovery, in comparative possession of the natives, when the settlements were then attempted which eventually led to their extinc-

tion. No date is given as to the final extinction of the Indians of Cuba, but it was not long after the arrival of Velasquez and his crew, and the sailing of Cortez for Mexico; for the barbarities of the Bahamas and Haiti were re-enacted on this island, until the natives killed themselves by scores, in despair, and to escape the Spaniards.

Affecting stories are narrated of the conquest of this island; but to no avail did the natives struggle for mere subsistence and a life of freedom. The largest settlements seem to have been in the eastern end of Cuba; at least, that is where the greatest number of relics have been found. In the *Real Academia*, of Havana, are to be seen a few of these remains of the primitive Cubans, in the shape of stone axes and other implements, and particular attention is called to some crania, imbedded in lime rock, which were discovered in caves near Cape Maisi, the extreme eastern end of Cuba, by a gentleman of Havana, who described them and their locales in a magazine published by the Academy. These skulls, of which several were obtained, are brachycephalic, having a cephalic index of above 90, one of them showing 93.75, another 90, and all with more or less pronounced frontal depressions, artificially produced. They are, of course, of great antiquity, some of them having been found imbedded entirely in the calcareous rock of the caverns, and covered with thick deposits of bat guano. As to their antiquity, I will not hazard conjecture; but accompanying this paper, I send the original magazine in which the description appeared, in which the details of their recovery are fully set forth, and a photograph.¹ Fragments of pottery, and some implements, were also obtained, such as a clay figure, an earthen jar which contained Indian bones, an axe or hatchet of serpentine, beautifully polished, and several minor articles of the class called "*piedras de rayo*," or thunderbolts,—in Cuba, as elsewhere.

¹ *Anales de la Real Academia*; Havana, Nov. 15, 1890; Tomo XXVII.

But enough has been shown to prove that the natives of Cuba were allied to those of the Bahamas, and had surpassed them, only in degree, on the same lines of development. As will be alluded to farther on, the natives of all the Greater Antilles, including the Bahamas, were of the same stock, as shown by their racial characteristics and linguistic affinities.

ISLAND OF JAMAICA. It is with reluctance that I leave this island of Cuba, the largest of the Antilles, where so much could be done in the way of exploration, and where so little has been accomplished (where, doubtless, there is still a field for the enterprising ethnologist); but I must now call attention to another of the Antillean group, of scarcely less importance. Jamaica, though it did not immediately follow in the series of Spanish discoveries, was brought into prominence soon after the first settlement was accomplished in Haiti. Discovered by Columbus in May, 1494, it was on the north coast of this island that he was wrecked, on his last voyage, in 1503. It was in February, 1504, that Columbus imposed upon the credulous natives in that famous prediction of the lunar eclipse, by which he compelled them to supply him with provisions for months, and without which he would have perished, as he was a twelve-month on the island, without means of escape.

Jamaica was a very populous island, the hills and valleys swarming with Indians; but they likewise perished under the exactions of the Spaniards. The first Spanish settlement was commenced in 1509, and shortly after that the natives began to decrease rapidly. History is silent as to the date of their final disappearance, but at the time of the first English invasion, in 1596, there were none left. Xaymaca, the Land-of-Springs, with its fertile soil and beautiful pimento groves, was soon left desolate, so far as the aboriginal inhabitants were concerned. Their number was estimated at above 60,000; Sir Hans Sloane, an historian

of Jamaica, writing about 1670, says: "In some small time, the Indian inhabitants, to the number of 60,000, were all destroyed by the severities of the Spaniards; I have seen in the woods many of their bones, in caves, which some people think were of such as had voluntarily inclosed or immured themselves, in order to be starved to death." He also mentions a man who saw, about 1677, "a cave in which lay human bones, all in order; also pots and urns, wherein were bones of men and children. These pots were oval, and large, of a reddish dirty color; on the upper part of the rim or ledge there stood out an ear, on which were made some lines. The negroes had removed most of these pots to boil their meat in." I am thus particular in introducing this evidence of an eye-witness of that time so long ago, since very few objects pertaining to the Jamaican aborigines have been found. At the recent exposition in Jamaica, in 1891, were many specimens of aboriginal implements, such as have been already described; but the island itself was not very fully represented.

Recurring again to the historian, Leslie, who wrote in 1740: "The Indians soon felt the dismal effects of giving faith to the Spaniards, who began a miserable havock: butchered, murdered and destroyed, in a few years, no less than 60,000 of the inhabitants and scarce left one alive. Some retired to the woods, and absconded in the caves and fortresses, whither they were pursued by the tyrants and cut to pieces. Jamaica was before this one of the best-peopled of all the Antilles, but such was the destructive slaughter of the Spaniards that the very name of Indian was, in a few years, rooted out, and none left to preserve the memory of that once flourishing people."

Gomara says, that the Spaniards made slaves of the Indians for various trivial reasons: as, because they ate insects and maggots (probably locusts, and larvæ of the palm-beetle); that they intoxicated themselves with wine

of maize and other native plants; smoked tobacco, and plucked their beards out by the roots. But, on the other hand, the natives, who were notoriously abstemious, were shocked and disgusted at the enormous appetites of the Spaniards, and at their revels and licentiousness. By consuming the scant crops of the Indians, who only provided themselves from year to year, and by debauching their wives and daughters, famine and disease were soon familiar spectres among these people who had hitherto lived in health and happiness. Speaking of the Indians in Jamaica, two hundred years ago, Sir Hans Sloane says: "They are not natives of the island, they being all destroyed by the Spaniards, but are usually brought by surprise from the Musquitos or from Florida, or such as were slaves to the Spaniards and taken from them by the English. They are very good hunters and fishers, but are naught at working in the field or slavish work, and if *checkt* or *drubbed* are good for nothing, therefore are very gently treated and well fed." This naïve confession as to the treatment of the slaves and Indians, in relation to their white masters, should have given the first-named a hint; indeed, the escaped negroes, or maroons, did profit by it, and held themselves aloof in the woods and mountains.

The Indians of Jamaica impressed Columbus most favorably, if we may believe the accounts he left of his discovery and first meeting with them. They possessed great canoes capable of carrying some eighty or a hundred warriors each; the first cacique to greet him came out in a beautiful canoe, in the prow of which stood the standard-bearer, "clad in a mantle of variegated feathers, with a tuft of gay plumes on his head, and bearing in his hand a fluttering white banner. Two Indians, with caps or helmets of feathers of similar shape and color, and their faces painted, beat upon tabors; two others held trumpets of a fine black wood, ingeniously carved." The two daughters of the cacique, "beautiful in form and countenance,"

were naked, but unabashed, and of modest demeanor. Around the head of the chief was a band of stones of various colors, two plates of gold were suspended from his ears by rings of very small green stones, and from a necklace of white beads was hung another plate of "guanin" or inferior gold, in the shape of a fleur-de-lis, while a girdle of stones was worn around his waist. His wife had on an apron of cotton, with similar adornments to the chief, and bands around her arms, while the girls wore no ornament, save their native modesty and a girdle of green stones.

How soon these peaceful and happy people were made to suffer want, and experience all the horrors of slavery, eventually to be exterminated, we have already seen. Of gold and precious stones, the Spaniards obtained little in Jamaica, the few articles found in possession of the natives having, probably, been obtained from Haiti, or the coast of Veragua; but some of their implements of warfare and domestic life have been recovered by later investigators, differing in no important particulars from those of Cuba and Haiti.

One of the few deposits of ancient pottery and implements has been described by Lady Edith Blake, the talented consort of the present Governor of Jamaica, Sir Henry Blake. Her description may be found in a magazine published at Kingston, the "Victoria Quarterly," and is entitled "The Northbrook Kitchen-Midden." About six miles to the east of Kingston, she says, on ground sloping gently down to the Liguanea Plain, is the site of an ancient Indian settlement. "To the east the field is abruptly terminated by a sudden dip and bank of some sixteen or eighteen feet in height. On digging into this bank, layer upon layer of shells are found, mingled with pottery more or less broken, a few small bones, and now and then a stone hatchet. Here and there, some of the shells show traces of fire. The pottery is of different degrees of thickness, and we found a few bits that bore traces of ornamentation.

The clay of which it was made is coarse and largely mixed with sand and small calcareous pebbles, forming a cement which seems to have been baked rather than burned, the heat not being sufficient to fuse or materially alter the pebbles. Some pieces bear traces of what seems to have been glazing. The attempts at ornamentation are exceedingly rough and such as a primitive people first essay by indenting the clay before being baked with the point of a stick or a sharp stone. The large proportion of pottery intermixed with the shells shows that this must have been a permanent settlement,—in short, this picturesque bank, with its waving grasses and sweet flowers, is nothing more or less than the refuse-heap of some old Indian town. . . . The stone hatchets (commonly known as ‘thunderbolts’) that have been found have, I believe, been broken or chipped specimens. . . . The shells are such as are still found in Kingston harbor, and the contents of which are to this day used as food; therefore this heap was made at a period not geologically remote. The land-shells are all the *helix acuta*, which is peculiar to Jamaica.”

While Sir Henry was Governor of the Bahamas, Lady Blake made exhaustive collections of Indian relics, visiting personally most of the principal islands, and also painted a series of water-colors of the indigenous plants of the islands, well illustrating the extensive flora. When I was in Jamaica, in 1891, she was engaged on a similar series of that island’s flowering plants; and was industriously collecting Indian antiquities. An invitation which she gave me to visit and open another kitchen-midden, I was obliged to decline, from lack of time; but that there is still a field for investigation in Jamaica, I yet believe.

HAITI.—We will now turn to that island reached by the first navigators from Spain after Cuba, called by the natives Bohio or Babeque, and Quisqueya, and named by Columbus, Española; now known as Haiti and Santo Domingo.

Without entering into the particulars of that first voyage

along the north coast of Haiti, we may note that there Columbus first found natives in great numbers, with fixed settlements, and in possession of gold actually obtained in the country of their residence. Coasting this beautiful country, interchanging courtesies with the natives, who were soon to feel the weight of his sword, the great navigator finally reached the bay of Cape Haitien, where he lost his flag-ship on a reef some five miles distant from shore, and was rescued from his perilous position by the native chieftain, or cacique, Guacanagari, whose settlement was called Guarico.

The wreckage of the flag-ship, the *Santa Maria*, was all recovered and taken ashore to the Indian village, which occupied the site of a small fishing-village now known as Petit Anse. Finding his remaining vessels too small to transport to Spain the crews of all three caravels, Columbus decided to erect a fort near Guarico, calling it Navidad, and leaving in it a garrison of forty men. I have investigated the site of the fort and village, and had the pleasure of discovering an ancient anchor, which came out of the *Santa Maria* and which was exhibited last year at the Exposition, in the Convent of La Rabida. More gold was found here in possession of the Indians than at any place previously visited; Guacanagari wore a golden crown, and also several of the sub-chiefs adorned their brows with ornaments of the precious metal. Finding that the Spaniards would exchange trinkets, such as hawkbells, for nuggets of gold, the natives swarmed about the caravel, holding up lumps of it, for which they desired the paltry trifles. Columbus assured his sovereigns, later on, that he felt confident that a ton of gold could be collected by the garrison of Navidad before his return. This gold came from the interior of the island, and from a district the natives called *Cibao*,—which the Spaniard thought could be no other than the famous Cipango, of which he had read in Marco Polo. It is a mountainous district around the head-

waters of the Rio Yaqui, which I visited later, and procured therefrom some grains of gold, also a nugget weighing half an ounce, seeing several others, among them one weighing five ounces. So, it seems, the auriferous nature of the newly-discovered country was not exaggerated.

At a banquet given by Guacanagari, bountiful supplies of *cassavi*, or native bread, *ajes*, nutritive roots, fish, *utias*, and fruits were spread before the guests. The cacique and his associate chiefs were cleanly in their habits and of excellent demeanor, reminding one of the accounts given of Montezuma and his Mexicans, as found by Cortez, at a similar banquet furnished by aboriginal Americans to the visiting Europeans.

Sailing for Spain, Columbus did not return for a year, and then found his fortress destroyed and the garrison massacred—a fate these lawless Spaniards had brought upon themselves. For, if there is anything evident in the narration of this voyage along the coast of Haiti, it is the gentle nature and inoffensiveness of the natives. In December, 1493, the town of Isabella was founded on the north coast of Santo Domingo, and thence excursions and raids were made into the interior, to the Cibao, and settlements made at Jacagua, Concepcion de la Vega, etc. The first interior fortress was the outpost of Santo Tomas, whence the gold was derived, and which, as well as all the other settlements, I myself have visited. From the Hill of Santo Cerro, overlooking the vast plain called by Columbus, from its exceeding beauty, the *Vega Real*, this man watched the progress of the great battle between his troops and the Indians, which finally settled the fate of the latter, and led to the subjection of all the natives of the island.

Without pursuing farther this subject of the subjugation of the Indians, at the recital of which one cannot but be moved with indignation, I will proceed to indicate merely the extent and distribution of the native tribes at the advent

of the Europeans. The island was divided into five cacique-ships, ruled over by hereditary chiefs; the first to be encountered by the Spaniards was that of Guacanagari, which comprised the territory now known as Haiti, at least the northern part, as far as the river Yaqui; this was soon subjugated, and the chieftain himself put to the sword. The second territory was that of Guarionex, extending from the Yaqui, through its valley and the Royal Vega, probably as far as the bay of Samana. The interior was in possession of Caonabo, a cacique of Carib birth, and an intruder; the only one who seemed a born fighter and initiated active hostilities against the Spaniards; his country included the Cibao, or gold country. The fourth province, Higüey, included the eastern part of the island, and was ruled by Cacique Cotubanama. The fifth, called Xaragua, comprised the southern and southwestern portions, and was held by Behechio, whose sister, Anacaona, was the wife of Caonabo. After the Indians of the north coast had been subjected, and Caonabo captured, Behechio was murdered, and later, Anacaona was burned at the stake, having succeeded to the province of Xaragua. The caciques were soon murdered, all of them, and the war of extermination begun, in 1495 occurring the great battle that completely reduced the Indians to subjection. By the end of the century, or in seven short years, very few of the original inhabitants were left alive!

The natives of the Greater Antilles, says a reliable historian, and also of the Bahamas, “were considered by the Caribs to be descended from the Arrowacks of Guiana, a race of Indians to whose noble qualities the most honorable testimony is borne,—and here all inquiry concerning the origin of our islanders seems to terminate.” At the time of the discovery, Las Casas computed them at above 6,000,000, but doubtless this was an exaggerated estimate; those of Hispaniola, Oviedo estimated at 1,000,000, and Martyr at 1,200,000. They were so numerous that Las Casas says

the islands swarmed with Indians, as an ant-hill with ants. Edwards, historian of Jamaica, compares them with the Otaheites, "with whom they seem to have many qualities in common." They cultivated large areas in maize and manioc, made immense canoes from the cedar and cottonwood (*ceiba*) trees, which they gunwaled and pitched with bitumen. They wore a cotton cloth around the waist, most of them, while the Caribs of the southern islands went entirely naked. They were of good shape and height, but less robust than the Caribs; their color, a deep, clear brown. All the islanders compressed the head artificially, but in different manner; the Caribs "elevated the forehead, making the head look like the two sides of a square; the natives of the larger islands, the occiput, rendering the crown of the head so thick that a Spanish broadsword would sometimes break on it." It is said to have been a common test of skill among the Spanish settlers as to which of them could most skilfully crack open an Indian's skull or neatly decapitate him. Las Casas testifies to Indians being burned alive and roasted over a slow fire. These things are mentioned as showing some of the causes of extermination, although the chief cause operating was the excessive labor in the mines, initiated by Columbus. And yet, says Martyr, "theirs was an honest countenance, coarse but not gloomy; for it was enlivened by confidence and softened by compassion." We know that they had native songs and hymns, called *arietos*, an idea of the Deity, as well as a multitude of minor gods; that they made articles of pottery, common vessels, as well as some with adornments; hammocks, chairs of wood (Bartholomew Columbus was presented with fourteen chairs of ebony and sixty vessels, "ornamented with fantastic figures of living animals," when he once visited Anacoana); and obtained gold from the mountain streams. Gold, or the search for gold, was their curse, and their death-knell was sounded when, in 1595, all the Indians were divided into *encomi-*

endas and *repartimientos*, and assigned for labor in the field and mine.

Without entering further into detail, the Spaniards are said to have reduced the Indians from 1,000,000 to 60,000 in fifteen years. The only sustained revolt by the Indians was led by a cacique, Henrique, who maintained it for fifteen years, and finally obtained honorable terms of peace. But it was then too late; and, though they were assigned a district for themselves, they continued to waste away; in 1535, says Oviedo, not above 500 natives were alive in the island; in 1585, Sir Francis Drake reported not an Indian left alive. Thus we see that their extermination was accomplished in less than a century after their discovery. To-day, it is needless to say, not one Indian can be found in that island where the first were found, nor any authenticated traces of intimate admixture of their blood. Not a pure blood Indian was left at Boya, the settlement assigned to Henrique, says an explorer of the last century, Moreau de Saint Mery, in his work published in 1798.

From the few remains existing of their works, as exhibited in minor articles of domestic use and implements of warfare, we may assume that the natives of Santo Domingo were in the neolithic stage of civilization, possessing polished stone implements and crude pottery, but giving no evidence of having ever produced works of art or architectural structures of merit. They had no knowledge of either bronze, copper or iron; gold being the only metal found in use among them. Considering the size of the island, the early period of its introduction to European civilization, and the thoroughness with which every part was explored by the *conquistadores*, very little has been recovered from the aboriginal inhabitants.

Said a celebrated French professor to a resident of Santo Domingo, only a few years ago: "The most acceptable present you can make our museum is a skull of one of the aborigines of your island; for there is not one in all Europe,

to-day." However true this statement may be, it is certain that crania of that island are desiderata in our own museums, and I have yet to meet with any, though there may be some here. A learned doctor whom I met in Puerto Plata, north coast of Santo Domingo, furnished me with a description and photograph of two skulls which he found in a cave, and which he assigned to the Ciguayan tribe that once dwelt in the north part of the island. The type is that of the Ciguayan, it was found in a cave which was filled with niches, and probably had served as an ancient burial-place. It had never been visited by collectors, was remote from inhabited places, and, moreover, the shape of the skull precludes the possibility of its being other than that of a native American. It is the skull of a young man, prognathous, with facial angle of about 75 degrees, and with a flattening of the frontal, or occipital, that gives to the crown a pyramidal shape whose vertex corresponds to the parietal protuberances.¹

The same gentleman has a small collection of aboriginal relics; as, one of the wooden seats, mentioned as occurring in the Bahamas, carved amulets of stone, and some battle-axes. Several small collections are to be found throughout the island, the most notable being that of the Archbishop of Santo Domingo, at the capital. In that are mortars and carved pestles, "mealing-stones," amulets, "mammiform stones," such as are found in Puerto Rico, and some pottery. The heads of the pestles are carved into likeness of owl and human faces, and also the terra-cotta images, or figurines.

I myself procured several terra-cotta images, small and delicately worked, one of a vase with curious combination of owl and human face, another with a face crowned, or wreathed, also a small earthen jug with a whistle in its nose. The historians tell us that the Indians possessed

¹ " *Una Vivienda Primitiva* " and " *Una Calavera de Indio*," by Dr. A. Lleuas, in the newspaper, " *El Porvenir*," of Puerto Plata, Santo Domingo.

many images, which they called *Zemes*, or *Cemis*, and which were considered as the family idols, their penates. These were mostly of clay or terra-cotta, but some have been found carved from wood. In the Smithsonian are two notable carvings, one that of a man, made from a single log, and the other a group: two human figures seated in a canopied chair. These were found in a cave near the ruins of Isabella, the first city founded by Columbus, on the north coast of Santo Domingo. I saw the old negro who discovered them, some years ago, and he described their position, and the great fright they gave him. They were placed in a rude niche beneath an overhanging rock, at the entrance to a deep cavern; and doubtless there they had remained for at least four hundred years,—since the advent of the Spaniards,—and how much longer no one knows. Dr. Llenas, the studious physician at Puerto Plata, describes an aboriginal workshop he investigated in a cave in the Santo Domingo mountains, where he found many fragments of chipped tools, but no perfect specimen. The late Dr. Gabb sent some valuable specimens to the United States, including the wooden statues above-mentioned, and one of the stools from the Bahamas.

In this paper, it will not be possible to do more than glance at the Indians of Santo Domingo, and indicate merely their remains; but let it suffice for me to add, that the island presents a rich field for anthropological research, and to express the hope that it will some time be thoroughly investigated. The southwestern portion, especially, where dwelt Anacoana and Henriquillo, is rich in what I may term surface indications; and it is in this district, in a valley in the mountains, that the remains of a large amphitheatre, enclosed with great rocks, are to-day seen, near the spot where Caonabo was captured. This amphitheatre is supposed to have served as the arena for the exercise of a peculiar game of ball in which the Indians indulged, somewhat similar to that to-day practised by the Basques.

ISLAND OF PUERTO RICO. Lying near to the island of Santo Domingo, and separated from it by a narrow channel, is Puerto Rico, which was discovered by Columbus, on his second voyage, but not settled until 1508. Ponce de Leon, who afterwards became famous through his search for the fountain of youth, overran the island with his soldiers, finding there a people similar to those of Santo Domingo, cultivators of the soil, and following the pursuits of peace.

It was not many years, however, before these peaceful islanders shared the fate of the others, and the populous country was devastated. The last of them perished long ago, and so long that not even tradition can inform us as to the uses of the numerous articles they once manufactured and have left behind them. But of all the West-Indian aborigines, these were farthest advanced in the crude arts they practised. Their pottery is highly ornamented, their stone implements are unique, "their implements of industry, so far as we have recovered them, are the most beautiful in the world; their artists were prodigies in design and workmanship." One of the finest collections of the productions of the inhabitants of the islands in ancient times, and the most complete of any from the Caribbean region, is in the Smithsonian Institution, the gift of the late George Latimer, of San Juan de Puerto Rico, where it is known as the "Latimer Collection."¹ It has been fully described, in an illustrated paper, published in 1877, one of the most valuable contributions to ethnographical literature of modern times. Without enumerating them, the articles may be described, in the classification of the writer, as "pottery, celts, smoothing-stones, mealing-stones, stools, discoidal and spheroidal stones, beads, cylinders, amulets, rude pillar-stones, mammiform stones, masks and collars." Although most are peculiar to the island of Puerto Rico

¹ "The Latimer Collection of Antiquities from Puerto Rico," by Prof. Otis T. Mason. Washington, 1877.

(the celts, of course, having the general resemblance to others found throughout the world,—that is, to implements of like character), there are several types found nowhere else. These are the so-called mammiform stones and the collars. The first are suggestive of a human form buried beneath a mountain: “On the back of the prostrate form is a conoid prominence, beautifully rounded up, straight, or slightly concave in outline in front, a little convex in the rear, swelling out on one side more than the other, and descending more or less lower than the top of the head and of the rump, so as to form anterior and posterior furrows.” The name is suggested by the conical or sub-conical protuberance, and, of course, is wholly arbitrary. But, any one who has seen the rounded and pyramidal hills and mountains of Puerto Rico, will not be at loss for the origin of suggestion to the aboriginal artist. They are as truly *sui generis* as the “collars,” which, likewise, are peculiar to this island. This appellation has been applied to the latter objects from their resemblance to horse-collars, though they are of stone, each carved from a single piece. They vary in length from nineteen to twenty-three inches, and in breadth from fifteen to seventeen. Many specimens are shown in the Smithsonian collection, in various stages of elaboration, but the majority are beautifully finished and polished, with bosses and panels, sometimes on one side and sometimes on the other. This peculiarity of ornamentation has given rise to the distinction of right and left shouldered, assuming that they may have served some use in pairs. Just what that use was, no one can tell, the historians being silent on the subject; but I was told, when in Puerto Rico, by an old priest, that the Indians made them to be buried with them in their graves. One would spend a lifetime laboriously carving out this solid stone collar, that when he died it might be placed over his head, thus securely fastening him to his last resting-place, and defying the efforts of the devil to remove him.

But, in this explanation, one may detect the ecclesiastical intrusion; for no theologer, no matter of what belief, is happy, unless he can fasten upon an aboriginal people a firm belief in a devil, or some evil genius of the supernatural world. However, this explanation is as good as any, since no one can offer a better. The same may be said of the objects called "masks," human faces carved of solid stone, and which may have been used as club-heads or banner-stones. There are also some seventy small chalcedony beads, which, says the learned writer of the monograph in question, Prof. Mason, "is the most remarkable sample of aboriginal stone polishing and drilling that has ever come under my observation." This opinion was given some seventeen years ago; but certainly nothing like these beads has been since obtained from the West Indies.

The natives of Puerto Rico possessed the same animal and plant resources as those of Santo Domingo, the flora and fauna being similar, and their dwellings were formed from the same materials; in neither island are there remains of stately structures or indications of any buildings constructed of less perishable materials than palm-leaves and native woods. I am inclined to believe that whatever specimens may have been found in the adjacent islands of the so-called collars or mammiform stones, came from this of Puerto Rico. Regarding the origin of the "stone stools," which have been found far-distant, in the Bahamas, carved out of wood, but of shape so similar that there is no mistaking their identity; I think they may have been made in Santo Domingo, as well as in Cuba and Puerto Rico.

We have thus briefly reviewed the chief and characteristic articles found in possession of the natives of the Greater Antilles at the time of discovery, or since found under such circumstances and in such localities as would indicate their undoubted origin.

As I have shown already, not a single descendant of the millions — or many thousands — found at the time of dis-

covery, remains in any island of the group. All have perished, leaving behind them only these mute memorials of their former existence there; and all we have to inform us else, is the scant information to be gleaned from the pages of historians, who, at the best, could not appreciate the value to the present age of ethnological material considered strictly as such. Only in casual manner, and merely as incidental to the historical narrative, are we informed of the most valuable "finds" of Columbus when he discovered this so-called New World.

THE CARIBS OF THE LESSER ANTILLES. But, although no living link connects the present with the first voyage of Columbus, yet, as we know, there are to-day alive some descendants of the people discovered on his second voyage. It was in 1493, that, sailing farther to the south than previously, he first made land about midway of the chain of islands now known as the Lesser Antilles, extending in a general line from Puerto Rico to the north coast of South America, describing the arc of a circle more or less regular, and within the tenth and twentieth degrees of north latitude. Strictly defined, they lie between the twelfth and eighteenth, and are mainly of volcanic origin. Here dwelt the Caribs, a warlike people, who had conquered all who had hitherto opposed them, at the time of their discovery by Europeans, and who had reached as far northward as Puerto Rico, in their devastating advance. The residents of that island, as well as those of Santo Domingo, and even of Jamaica and the Bahamas, were living in dread of their incursions, at the time a more powerful and remorseless enemy appeared, in the shape of the foreign adventurers from Spain. Beyond Puerto Rico, looking east and south, no trace exists of the residence in the lesser islands of the same people who inhabited the Greater Antilles, except in vestiges of subjugated tribes.

Columbus first landed at the island of Guadaloupe, there making the important discovery of the Caribs, or can-

nibals, — both words derived from the language of these people themselves. He found there natives less advanced than those of the northern islands in the primitive pursuits of peace, but more inured to war, braver, and less disposed to submit.

Their first reception of the interlopers was a declaration of war, which they sustained so successfully that the Spaniards left them alone for many years, only making descents upon them when they could take them at a disadvantage and enslaving them under an act which allowed the capture and transportation of such as should be proven cannibals. After the enslavement of the rapidly-decreasing natives of the larger islands was prohibited, it was most surprising to find how many “cannibals” the Spaniards discovered. I do not think it has been successfully maintained that the natives of the Lesser Antilles were anthropophagous, but, as it suited the purposes of the Spaniards to have them declared so, thus they have remained, with that stigma attached to their name, to this day.

At all events, they were too disagreeable for their discoverers to desire further acquaintance with them, except occasionally, and to this fact is due the survival of their present descendants to-day. Taking the islands in sequence, from Puerto Rico eastward, the first group we find is that of the Virgins, discovered by Columbus on his second voyage to America, and so named by him. Were this a narrative of his discoveries, I should like to linger by the way, and point out to my readers the many incidents of that voyage, and describe the islands as I myself have seen them; but I cannot allow myself that pleasure, but must confine my attention to the facts bearing upon the ancient inhabitants and their present remains. I have not discovered, nor have there been found, many relics of the natives of the Virgins differing from those in other islands farther south, and more numerous.

In the island of St. John are some rocks covered with

incised figures, which are called the “Carib rocks,”—rude petroglyphs without meaning; but undoubtedly of aboriginal origin. Throughout the Greater Antilles, I cannot recall any of these petroglyphs, and they seem to be peculiar to the Carib area, other and finer ones being found in the island of St. Vincent. The descendants of the Caribs to-day are confined to two islands only, Dominica (which was the first land sighted by Columbus on his second voyage) and St. Vincent, the former between latitude fifteen and sixteen north, and the latter in latitude thirteen. They are described in my book on these islands,¹ published fifteen years ago, and I will not repeat my descriptions, except to state that there are some twenty families of pure blood remaining in Dominica, and perhaps half a dozen in St. Vincent. There may be three hundred in each island, but so intimately mixed with the negroes that their distinguishing features are nearly obliterated. They dwell on the windward or eastern coast of either island, in each having a portion of land assigned them, which they cultivate in common, or which, at least, is not owned in severalty. They subsist upon the fruits of their agricultural labors and the sea, eked out with the scant products of the chase, consisting mainly of small birds, agoutis, and iguanas. Their huts are almost as primitive as at the time of discovery, being constructed of palm logs and thatched with palm leaves. In Dominica most of them speak the French patois (a legacy from the former owners of the island), and in St. Vincent, English; being Catholics in the former and Church of England in the latter, as to their religious faith. All vestiges of their native religion have apparently disappeared, although they still have a belief in the jumbies and wood-spirits of the negroes. They are to-day gentle and easily managed, showing no trace of the warlike spirit of their ancestors; in shape they are robust, well-formed, with

¹ See “Camps in the Caribbees,” by F. A. Ober. Boston, 1879.

small hands and feet, in color decidedly light, and some even fair, their complexion being of a yellowish cast. They make canoes and woven baskets, after the manner of the aborigines, are skilled fishers and sometimes hunters, and are altogether trusty and superior in many respects to the blacks.

Several writers have described the Caribs during various periods in their history since coming into notice, but I will select from them one who wrote about two hundred years ago, whose pages bear every evidence of honesty and authenticity. At that time the English were mainly in possession of the islands. He says: "They go stark naked, both men and women; though the Christians have conversed very much amongst them, yet have all their persuasions to induce them to cover themselves been to no purpose. . . . They change their natural color by dyeing their bodies with *roucou*, which makes them red all over. . . . They also adorn the crown of the head with a little hat made of bird's feathers of different colors. . . . They bore their ears, nose, lips, for the insertion of ornaments. . . . About their necks they wear necklaces made of the bones of their enemies, teeth of agoutis, etc. . . . On great occasions, they wear scarfs and girdles of feathers. . . . Their most valued ornaments were gorgets of copper, obtained from the Arrowaks by plunder, crescent-shaped and shining, and these are, most frequently, the only possessions they leave their children at death. . . . They wear cotton cloth and can dye it in various colors, chiefly red; they had hammocks when found by Columbus. . . . They made fine pottery, which they baked in kilns, and also wove fine baskets. . . . They cultivated their land in common. . . . They buried the corpse of a chief, or head of a family, in the centre of his own dwelling. . . . Their heaven seems to have been a sort of Mohammedan paradise of houris and harems for the brave. . . . They raised rustic altars, placing upon them fruits and flowers. . . . The Caribs have

an ancient and natural language, such as is peculiar to them, and also a bastard speech, with foreign words, chiefly Spanish, intermixed. Among themselves they always use the natural language, in conversing with Christians the bastard speech. . . . The women also have a different speech from the men. . . . It hath been observed that the men are less amorous than the women; both are naturally chaste; and when those of other nations look even earnestly at them, and laugh at their nakedness, they were wont to say to them, ‘you are to look on us only between both the eyes.’ . . . Yet, it must be confessed that some have degenerated from that chastity, and many other virtues of their ancestors, the Europeans having taught them many vices,—to the perpetual infamy of the Christian name. . . . They are great lovers of cleanliness, bathing every day; are generous, hospitable and honest. . . . It is also a manifest truth, confirmed by daily experience in America, that the holy sacrament of baptism being conferred on these savages, the devil never beats or torments them afterwards as long as they live.¹

“The Carib boys were compelled to pierce their food suspended from a tree with an arrow, before they could eat it. . . . They are said to have used poisoned arrows, dipping them in what must have been the urrari poison, obtained from Guiana. . . . Like many natives, they eradicated the beard and the hair on other parts of the body. . . . They compressed the skulls of new-born infants; and a hatred of the Arrowaks was instilled. . . . Their cabins were built of poles fixed circularly in the ground and drawn together at the top, covered with palm leaves, and in the centre of each village was a building larger than the others for public assemblage.

“The Caribbeans are a handsome, well-shaped people, of a smiling countenance, middle stature, having broad shoulders

¹ See Davles’s “History of the Caribby Islands.” London, 1668.

and large buttocks, and most of them in good plight. Their mouths are not over large, and their teeth are perfectly white and close. True it is, their complexion is of an olive color, naturally ; their foreheads and noses are flat, not naturally, but by artifice ; for their mothers crush them down at their birth, as also during the time they suckle them, imagining it a kind of beauty and perfection. . . . They have large and thick feet, because they go barefoot, and withal so hard that they defie woods and rocks. . . . They believed in evil spirits, and sought to propitiate them by presents of game, fruits, etc. They believe that they have as many souls as they feel beatings of the arteries in their bodies, besides the principal one, which is in their heart, and goes to heaven with its god, who carries it thither, to live with other gods ; and they imagine they there live the same life as man lives here below. For they do not think the soul to be so far immaterial as to be invisible ; but they affirm it to be *subtile*, and of thin substance, as a purified body ; and they have but the same word to signify heart and soul. Other souls, not in the heart, reside in the forest and by the seashore ; the former they called *Mabouyas*, the latter *Oumekou*. . . . They believe they go after death to live in certain fortunate islands, where they have Arrowak slaves to serve them, swim unwearied in placid streams, and eat of delicious fruits. . . . Of the thunder, God's voice, they are extremely afraid. They were prone to leave their houses (huts) after the death of an inmate. It is related, that a young Carib, having been converted to Christianity and taken to France, where he was shown many strange things, at which he showed no astonishment, returned to his tribe, threw off the clothes of civilization, and painted his body with *roucou*, becoming as wild a savage as before. . . . As to the division of labor, the men made the huts and kept them in repair, procured fish and game, also labored some in the fields ; the women attended to the domestic duties, painted their husbands with *roucou*, and spun the cotton yarn, wove ham-

mocks, etc. They made fire by the friction of two sticks, and torches of candle-wood."

The author quoted above appends an extensive vocabulary to his work, from which I extract a few words which, he says, were common between the Caribs and the Apalaches, of Florida: as, Cakomees, or little curiosities; Bouttou, a club of weighty wood; Taumali, "a certain piquancy or deliciousness of taste"; Etonton, an enemy; Allouba, a bow; Allouani, arrows; Taonaba, a great pond; Mabouya, an evil spirit; Akambouyi, the soul of man, etc.

This much from the ancient writer, to explain the status of the Carib, as a savage, or semi-savage. Let us now turn to modern descriptions of him, as found in Guiana, his present home. As to the tribal name, a recent writer says: "The Arawak name for Carib Place, or home, is *Caribisi*; the Caribs style themselves, *Carinya*."¹ Humboldt says: "They call themselves Carina, Calina, Callingo. The Calibis (of Cayenne) and others, who originally inhabited the plains between the mountains of Caripe (Caribe) and the village of Maturin, also the native tribes of Trinidad, and the village of Cumana, are all tribes of the great Caribbee nation." Davies, the author previously quoted, says: "The ancient and natural inhabitants of the Caribbees, are those who have been called by some authors Cannibals, Anthropophagi, or Eaters of Men; but most of others who have written of them commonly called them Caribbians, or Caribs; but their primitive and originary name, and that which is pronounced with the most gravity, is Caräibes. They believe themselves descended from the Caribites, or Calibis, of the Main, in that country or province which is commonly called Guayana. The Caribs of St. Vincent said (1600) that their first insular ancestors were rebels against the Arrowaks, and retreated to the Caribbees (then inhabited by scattered Arrowaks), first to Tobago, and thence going still farther northward."

¹ "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. Im Thurm. London, 1883.

The Indians of Guiana to-day, says a very thorough investigator, who published the results of his researches ten years ago,¹ are divided into four branches, as the Warrau, Arawak, Wapiana, and the Carib. "The languages of these four branches are quite distinct from each other; and within the language are dialectic variations. . . A stranger finds it difficult to distinguish, merely from appearances, the different members of the respective tribes. . . . The Arawaks are slightly taller than the Warraus; their bodies, though short and broad, are far better proportioned; skin lighter in color; expression of face brighter and more intelligent. . . . They are the most cleanly of all the Indians. . . . The Caribs are darker; somewhat taller than the Arawaks, bodies better built; having, in appearance and in reality, far greater strength; features coarser, with the appearance of greater power. . . . There is a constant enmity between Caribs and Arawaks. The Arawaks to this day retain a timid dread of the Caribs, who repay the feeling with contempt. . . . The Caribs are the most warlike of all, especially the pure Caribs. . . . They are peculiar among the tribes, in that they occupy no particular district, but are scattered more or less thickly throughout the country. . . . They are the great pottery-makers. . . . The Caribs seem to represent migrations into the country already occupied by the other tribes, and may be contradistinguished as natives and stranger tribes; the three branches of natives being all united by a common feeling of aversion to the Caribs, or strangers. . . . The natives all make their hammocks of the fiber of a palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*) while the Caribs make theirs of cotton. . . . The fact that the true, or island Caribs, had two vocabularies, one used by the men, and the other by the women, has long been known." Humboldt alludes to this difference of speech, and it is mentioned in my "Camps in

¹ "Among the Indians of Guiana," by E. F. Im Thurm. London, 1883.

the Caribbees," so that I will not further quote, than to point out that he says :

"The difference in the language of the two sexes is more striking among the people of the Carib race than among any other American nations. The pride of the Caribs led them to withdraw themselves from every other tribe, even from those with whom, by their language, they have affinity." It may be added, however, that this difference of language as between the sexes, among the Caribs, was supposed to have its origin in the fact that the women were of the Arawak tribes, captured by the Caribs, while the males were killed. "Among the true Caribs," says Im Thurm, "a two-inch broad band of cotton is knitted round each ankle, and just below the knee of every young female child, and this band is never removed during life, or if removed, is immediately replaced. The consequence is that the muscles of the calf swell out to an abnormal degree between these bands," etc. This peculiarity, of the swollen calf, was noticed among the Caribs by the first discoverers, in 1493. "Every man wears a long strip of cloth between the legs and fastened to a belt, and the women a short apron, tied by strings around the waist. This apron is usually made of beads or of bright-colored seeds, in conventional patterns . . . The men also wear a necklace of white and shining peccary teeth, as well as an armlet . . . They paint their bodies and pull out all hairs not on the scalp. . . . For staining their skins and hammocks, the men use *faroah*,—the deep red pulp around the seeds of the anatto (*Bixa orellana*),—as when first discovered. As ornaments, the true Caribs wear crescent-shaped nose-pieces and ear-distenders, as well as lip ornaments, crowns of feathers, feather ruffs, and short mantles of woven cotton ornamented with feathers. The women are less given to ornament, except that they wear great girdles of beads and bright seeds, etc.; and as a tribe, they are not prone to wear European clothing, save as single

garments, occasionally, and beads. . . . The Guiana Indians still make fire by rubbing two sticks together; they make baskets similar to those now made by the West-Indian Caribs, as well as cassava sieves, *matapies*, or cassava strainers, and other articles of the Indian economy. . . . Cotton is preferred by the Caribs to all other fibers. They still use the *tiki*, or wooden war-club, the only aboriginal weapon now in use. . . . The celebrated ourali poison is made chiefly by a single tribe, the Macusis, and particular Indians. . . . In the shell mounds, the objects found resemble those from the West Indies; and human bones have been found split open, as if for their marrow. Of aboriginal art, as shown in paintings or carvings, there are few traces, the petroglyphs being few and very rude in design and execution. . . . One practice still prevails among the Caribs of which we find no trace in the island: that is *couvade*, or male child-bed, when the man, at parturition, takes to his hammock, where he stays for days, and even weeks (if he be delicate), and is fed on gruel, abstains from smoking, and is comfortably coddled, while the poor woman attends to her hardly-interrupted domestic duties. In conclusion, as to the religion of the Guiana Caribs, it is a pure animism; every Indian believes that he himself, and every human being, consists of two parts, a body and a soul, or spirit; and moreover, that all other objects have the same qualities; the whole Indian world swarms with spirits, good and evil. They do not believe in a spiritual hierarchy, — only in spirits that are, or once were, situated in material bodies of some kind, — and no apotheosis has of these made gods, or a God. . . . The Carib name for God, *Tamosi*, means the Ancient One. . . . As to scientific acquirements, the Indian, now, as in ancient times, is without even the rudiments of scientific thought . . . ”

CARIB PETROGLYPHS, IMPLEMENTS, AND POTTERY. Were it not even that we still have evidence of the existence in the Carib area of Indians who dwell here, in the con-

tinued presence of their descendants, we should still be enabled to judge somewhat of the state of their civilization by their remains. I have mentioned the existence, in the island of St. John, one of the Virgin group, of rock-carvings; near the other extreme of the Caribbean Chain, in the island of St. Vincent, in latitude 13 north, 5 degrees farther south, are several of these strange rocks. I have seen some half-dozen of these petroglyphs, in that island, which I visited three, and fifteen, years ago. Also, in the island of Guadaloupe, in latitude 16, are several others of similar character. Those that I photographed were all near the very spot where Columbus discovered the first Caribs, at Capes Terre, and near Three Rivers, island of Guadaloupe. The incised figures represent, rudely, heads adorned with plumes; and other characters are found which cannot be adequately described. These petroglyphs are indubitably of Carib origin, being found only within the Carib area; and so far as I am aware, few, if any similar, have been seen in the larger islands. The characters which do not rise to the dignity of hieroglyphics or ideographs, have no coherent sequence or continuity, only a general resemblance. It would be interesting to gather all these and submit them for study to a competent body of ethnologists but I doubt if great results would be obtained.

More abundant and conclusive in their testimony, are the numerous minor objects of Carib art and workmanship, which have been, from time to time, gathered in the various islands. In that same island of Guadaloupe exists to-day, what is, perhaps, the largest and most nearly complete collection of Carib implements in the world, gathered together and owned by a learned collector, M. Louis Guesde. It is described, with numerous types delineated, in the *Smithsonian Report* for 1884, by Prof. Mason, to whom the world is so deeply indebted for valuable monographs on kindred subjects.¹ I myself saw the collection,

¹ "*Smithsonian Report*," Washington, D. C., 1884, pp. 731-837.

two years ago, and can testify to its value and completeness. It is for sale, and, although M. Guesde asks what seems a very large price for it, still, I think it should be secured for some American museum, and so trust. Referring those who may desire further particulars of the Carib relics especially to that paper, I will merely add, that these remains are in the shape of celts, of jade or jadeite, and serpentine, beautifully polished, discoidal and spheroidal stones, battle-axes (these of volcanic stone), semi-lunar and crescentic stones, and many odd shapes as yet unclassified, as axes with notched heads, horn-shaped and symmetrical, etc., etc. It has been said that no flaked or chipped specimen has been found within the Carib area, but in this collection are at least two, though M. Guesde thinks they came from the South American continent. A few idols, or figures in clay, are shown, as well as beads, amulets, perforated stones, mortars, dishes of stone, awls, hooks and perhaps harpoons; two vases, also, one of guiacum wood, which is hard and durable, disks or quoits, mealing-stones, pestles and chisels.

In this connection, I may be pardoned for alluding to my own "finds" in these islands, some one hundred specimens having been sent by me to the Government Museum, at different times. One of the most unique was a figure of a tortoise, carved from hard wood, which was found by me in a cave near St. Vincent, in 1878. From this latter island have been sent to the various museums of Europe and the United States, many specimens of stone implements. The most remarkable "find" was made a few years ago, of a cache or deposit of stone celts and axes, nearly two hundred in number, which were exhibited at the Jamaica Exposition, in 1891. St. Vincent seems to have been the ancient headquarters of the Caribs, if we may judge from the relics they have left behind, for this island is, or was, strewn with them. Some of those I secured and sent to the Smithsonian were veritable battle-axes,

which must have taken the strength of a giant to wield and carry continuously in battle, one of them weighing over six pounds and measuring ten inches in breadth. This name is applied, however, for lack of a better, at present, as they may have served other uses than those of war. Chisels of shell, such as are common in Barbadoes, and the low-lying islands, are infrequently found in those that are volcanic, which mainly constitute the Caribbees.

The few in the Guesde collection are from the shell of the fossil *strombus gigas*, as being harder than the living *strombus*. “It is certain that the Caribs did not take the living *strombi*, but were careful to use the fossil, which had in time acquired the hardness of ivory.”

Several minor collections exist in the West Indies, and these, if possible, should be gathered together in some American museum, where they can be studied by those to whom the scientific aspects of the problem are familiar and whose opinion would be competent.

THE ORIGIN OF THE ANTILLEANS.—In a general way, as shown in the preceding pages, I have gathered such information and herewith present it, as has been available to one engaged in other pursuits than ethnology. It would certainly be germane to inquire into, and even to speculate upon, the origin of the peoples whose works we have been examining. Without any pretence to authoritative premises, yet I would venture to offer some facts bearing upon the question, with the humble hope that they may aid in the elucidation of the problem of the origin of the West-Indian Aborigines.

Says the great Humboldt: “When a continent and its adjacent islands are peopled by one and the same race, we may choose between two hypotheses: an emigration from one, or from the other. . . . The archipelago of the W. I. islands forms a narrow and broken neck of land parallel with the isthmus of Panama, and supposed by some geographers to have anciently joined the peninsula of

Florida with the northeast extremity of South America. It is the eastern shore of an inland sea, which may be considered as a basin with several outlets: . . . The islanders of Cuba, Haiti, Puerto Rico and the Bahamas were, according to the uniform testimony of the first *conquistadores*, entirely different from the Caribs. . . . The Caribs, in the XVIth. century, extended from the Virgin Islands on the north to the mouth of the Orinoco, perhaps to the Amazon. . . . Those of the continent admit that the small W. I. islands were anciently inhabited by the Arawaks, a warlike nation yet existing on the Main. . . . They assert that the male Arawaks were exterminated, except the women, by the Caribs, who came from the mouth of the Orinoco. In support of this theory, note the analogy existing between the language of the Arawaks and that of (some of) the Carib women."

The present Caribs, says Im Thurm, say that they arrived in Guiana from sky-land, through a hole in the clouds. Davies, the ancient author from whom we have extensively quoted, says: "The Dominican Caribs said their ancestors came out of the continent, from among the Calibis, to make war against the Arouages (Arawaks) who inhabited the islands, and whom they utterly destroyed, excepting the women, whom they took to themselves," etc. Some have held that the nation had origin in the Floridian peninsula; but this theory is founded upon something like the following "testimony" quoted by Davies (17th century): "from one Master Brigstock, an English gentleman, one of the most curious and inquisitive persons in the world, who, among his other great and singular accomplishments, hath attained the perfection of the Virginian and Floridian languages. . . . Who says (1653) the Caribbeans were originary inhabitants of the Septentrional part of America, of that country which is call'd Florida. They came to inhabit the islands after they had departed from amidst the Apalachites, among whom they lived a long

time ; and they left there some of their people, who to this day go under the name of Caribbeans(?) ; but the first origin is from the Cofachites, who only changed their denomination," etc.

Of like trivial character, is nearly all the scant testimony as to a northern origin for these peoples. But, recently, a high authority, Prof. W. H. Holmes,¹ of the Bureau of Ethnology, at Washington, claims to have found what may be termed a Caribbean contact with Florida, in certain treatment of such examples of ceramic art as have been found in Florida. Without seeking to controvert this, I will merely present the facts, as shown by the historians, by tradition, and by existing objects, which seem to lead us back to the South American continent as the ancient home of the Indians of both the Greater and Lesser Antilles. That the inhabitants of these two great groups, or chains of islands, were of different stock, has been, I think, conclusively shown. Says the old writer, heretofore quoted : " The great difference in language and character between the Caribs and the inhabitants of Cuba, Hispaniola, Jamaica and Puerto Rico, hath given birth to the opinion that their origin was different. . . . Of this there seems indeed to be little doubt ; but the question, from whence each class of islands was first peopled, is of more difficult solution. . . . Rochefort (1658) pronounced them originally a nation of Florida ; . . . yet, the natives of the Bahamas, nearest to Florida, were evidently a similar people to those of Hispaniola. Sir Walter Raleigh assures us that the Charaibes of the coast of Guiana spoke the language of Dominica ; and I incline to the opinion of Martyr, that the islanders were rather a colony from the Caribs of South America, than from any nation of the North. . . . Rochefort admits that their own traditions referred constantly to Guiana. . . . It does not appear

¹ " Caribbean Influences on the Prehistoric Ceramic Art of the Southern States," 1894.

that they entertained the most remote idea of a northern ancestry. . . . The antipathy which they manifested towards the unoffending natives of the larger islands appears extraordinary ; but it is said to have descended to them from their ancestors of Guiana ; they considering those islanders as a colony of Arawaks, a nation of South America with whom the Charaibes of that continent are constantly at war. . . . But their friendship was as warm as their enmity was implacable. . . . The Caribs of Guiana still (18th century) cherish the traditions of Raleigh's alliance, and to this day preserve the English colors which he left them at parting." (?) — *Edwards's History of Jamaica.*

We have seen that historical tradition points towards the southern continent as their ancestral abiding-place ; let us make another inquiry. Of the animals that constituted their food-supply, nearly all the mammals were allied to species or genera of the South American continent ; such were the Agouti, Peccary, Armadillo, Opossum, Raccoon, "Musk-rat," the Dumb Dog (now extinct), perhaps the Alco, the Yutia and Almique (of Cuba), and possibly, in the extreme south, a species of monkey. Add to these the Iguana, which is peculiarly tropical, the many birds, and the fishes, and we have their entire food-supply of an animal nature ; saving that the Caribs are said to have been anthropophagous ; though I doubt if they were more than ritual cannibals, at the worst.

We have seen, also, that the present Caribs of Guiana conform in many respects to those of the islands, and have the same characteristics, preserving their ancient dislike of the Arawaks to the extent of positive aversion. It only remains to quote from a high authority as to their linguistic affinities, to close this summary of points of resemblance. As to the larger islands being inhabited by Indians speaking the same tongue, we may recall that a Lucayan interpreter served Columbus throughout his

cruisings among the various islands. Says the authority just alluded to, Dr. D. G. Brinton, "The Arawak stock of languages is the most widely disseminated of any in South America. It begins at the south with the Guanas, on the headwaters of the river Paraguay, and with the Baures and Moxos on the highlands of southern Bolivia, and thence extends almost in continuity to the Goajiros peninsula, the most northern land of the continent. Nor did it cease there; all the Antilles, both Greater and Lesser, were originally occupied by its members, and so were the Bahamas, thus extending its dialects to within a short distance of the mainland of the northern continent, and over forty-five degrees of latitude. Its tribes probably at one time occupied the most of the lowlands of Venezuela, whence they were driven, not long before the discovery, by the Caribs, as they also were from many of the southern islands of the West Indian archipelago. The latter event was then of such recent occurrence that the women of the Island Caribs, most of whom had been captured from the Arawaks, *still spoke that tongue*. They were thus the first of the natives of the New World to receive the visitors from European climes; and the words picked up by Columbus and his successors on the Bahamas, Cuba and Haiti, are readily explained by the dialects of this stock. No other nation was found on any part of the archipelago except the two I have mentioned. . . . The culture of the Arawak stock was generally somewhat above the stage of savagery. On the West Indies Columbus found them cultivating maize, potatoes, manioc, yams and cotton. They were the first to introduce to Europeans the wondrous art of tobacco smoking. They wove cotton into garments and were skilful in polishing stone. They hammered the native gold into ornaments, carved curious masks of wood, blocked rude idols out of large stones, and hollowed the trunks of trees to construct what they

called canoes. . . . Such is approximately the culture of the existing stock.

“The Carib stock is one of the most extensively distributed in the southern continent. At the discovery, its dialects were found on the Lesser Antilles, the Caribbee islands, and on the mainland from the mouth of the Essequibo to the Gulf of Maracaibo. . . . All the island, Orinoco, and Guiana Caribs can be traced back to the mainland of northern Venezuela. . . . The physical features of the Caribs assimilate closely to those of the Arawaks. They are taller, in the average, and more vigorous; but their skulls are equally brachycephalic and orthognathic. . . . The Caribs have had a bad reputation on account of their anthropophagous tendencies; indeed, the word *cannibal* is a mispronunciation of their proper name.”¹

An ancient writer says that this word was first heard off the coast of Haiti,—*canniba*, an aboriginal word, meaning man-eater;—“And finding in *canniba* the word *can* (Khan), Columbus was of the opinion that these pretended man-eaters were in reality merely subjects of the great Khan of Cathay, who, for a long time, had been scanning these seas in search of slaves.”

The Caribs were quite on a par with their neighbors, the Arawaks, and in some respects superior to them. “For instance, their canoes were larger and finer (?), and they had invented the device of the sail, which seems to have been unknown to all the other tribes on the continent. . . . To some extent they were agricultural, and their pottery was of superior quality.”—*Brinton*.

We may deduce, then, from these desultory observations, that these people, so different in many ways, and yet with striking resemblances, had a southern origin; that they were still in the neolithic period, possessing no books, paper, hieroglyphs or ideographs; the rude pet-

¹ “The American Race,” by Daniel G. Brinton. New York, 1891.

roglyphs being their nearest approach to the graphic arts ; and there was little promise of that extraordinary development of an indigenous civilization on the lines of advance followed by the natives of Mexico and Central America. They seem to have been isolated from every country and every contact except in the south.

Trusting that this fragmentary contribution will be accepted in the spirit of its intention : as containing suggestions for other and better-equipped students to follow out and develop ; and that it may prove acceptable to the honorable gentlemen with whom it is the writer's privilege to be allied, it will now be brought to a conclusion.

ELIOT'S BIBLE AND THE OJIBWAY LANGUAGE.

[These letters from Rev. James A. Gilfillan of White Earth, Minnesota, relate to the similarity between the present Ojibway or Chippewa language and that of the Massachusetts Indians in the time of Eliot.

Four years ago I had the pleasure of reading to the Society here a letter from him. He had then just made acquaintance with the Lord's Prayer as printed in Eliot's Bible, and had found, to his own pleasure, and certainly to ours, that he could read it. In this fact it was proved that the common remark that the language of the Massachusetts Indians is now a dead language, and that Eliot's Bible cannot be read by any one excepting our indefatigable fellow-member, Dr. Trumbull, is an overstatement. In the last autumn I printed two passages from Eliot's Bible.¹ They were three verses from the book of Joshua, and three verses from the Sermon on the Mount. In printing them I gave no reference to the places from which the passages were taken. The following are the passages :

MATTHEW V.

NAuont moochequshaoh, ogquodchuau wadchuut, kah na matapit, ukkodnetuhtaéneumoh peyauónuk.

2. Kah woshwunum wuttoon, ukkuhkootomauuh noowau.

3. Wunnánumôog kodtummungeteahoncheg, a newutche wuttaihécuk kesukque ketassootamóonk.

JOSHUA I.

5. Matta pish howan tapenumoo neepauun ut anáquabean nesohke pomantaman: neane weetomogkup Moses ne kittin weetomunun, c matta kuppanshadtauwahunoo, asuh kutohqu anumunoo.

6. d Menuhkesish, kah wunnewuttooantásh, newutche pish kutcha-chaubenumau yeug missinninnuog, wutch ahtoonk, ohke ne chadcheke-imogkup wutooshíñeunk nuttinnumauonaout.

7. Webe menuhkeish, kah moocheke wuttooantash, onk woh kuk-kuhkinneas ussenat, neaunag wame naumatuonk ne Moses nuttinneum anoonukqueop e ahque qushkehtash en unninnohkounit, asuh menad-cheanit, onk wóh koone sóhkaus uttoh aoan.

I sent these printed specimens to several gentlemen in the Northwest, where the Ojibway language is in daily use, I sent them also to the Mashpee Indians in southern Massachusetts, and to the devoted missionaries who are at work among the Penobscots in Maine.

From the passage in Joshua, which had no leading word which should recall to the memory of a reader its place in the English Bible, Dr. O'Brien of the Penobscot missions selected the words for *not*, *who*, *the earth*, *only*, and *seize* correctly.

¹ First Edition.

All of my correspondents who answered my letters had at once discovered the word *wadchuut*, which means "mountain," being the word which we have preserved in Massachusetts and in Wachusett. This gave them the key to the passage from the Sermon on the Mount, and with this assistance they worked out several of the leading words in the first three verses of the fifth chapter of Matthew. Mr. Gilfillan's letter will show how close is the similarity between the text of Eliot and the language of the Ojibway as it is now spoken.

We have a version of the New Testament in the Ojibway language made by Reverend Sherman Hall about fifty years ago. Unfortunately, as it seems to me, Mr. Hall used the general suggestions as to vocalization which Mr. Pickering had made for securing uniformity in the missionary translations. However desirable Mr. Pickering's system may have been for the general purpose of uniformity, it seems a pity that a text so well known as that of Eliot's Bible should have been entirely disregarded in the preparation of a new translation. It is a little as if a translator of the Bible into Swedish should refuse to make any use of the classical translation by Luther into German. Indeed, one of my correspondents at the West, Mr. Francis Jacker, an educated German gentleman, uses precisely this illustration, saying :

"The difference between the Eastern Algonquin dialects and the Ojibway appears to be about as wide, or nearly so, as that which exists between the German and Swedish, or some other of the Scandinavian languages. The conjugation of the verb, however, and the grammatical form of words in general, in the specimen of the dialect submitted to me, seem to be identical."

By adopting what we call the French vocalization, almost all the vowel sounds, as used in Eliot's Bible, are changed to the eye. The letters L, M, N, and R were always interchangeable in the dialects of New England, so that "dog" was *anum* or *alum* or *arum*, according as you spoke with a Narragansett, a Nipmuck, or a Northern Indian. The Indian of Massachusetts always said P for B; he spoke of a *Piple* instead of a Bible. As an instance of the distinction between Mr. Hall's system and that of Eliot, I may name his character for a certain final consonant, recognized by all the writers; the same sound which Eliot represents by *ut* in the end of *wadchuut*, is represented by Mr. Hall by the letter *I* underlined, and he describes it as being *inck*. As a result of this distinction, Eliot's word *wadchuut* appears *uvjiui*. It will readily be seen that an Ojibway accustomed to read the Bible in Mr. Hall's spelling and with Mr. Hall's vocalization, would make nothing, at first sight, of the Bible of Eliot. He would be as powerless as a Canadian boy who has been taught to read English in a New England school is when he meets his first French book, and reads his French with the English pronunciation of the vowels and consonants.

It is certainly desirable—and I shall beg the help of Mr. Butler and Mr. Gilfillan in such an enterprise—to transfer some passage from Eliot's Bible into the spelling and vocalization of Mr. Hall, and see if it

might not prove intelligible to the average intelligent reader among the Ojibway, who has been trained to that system of spelling and writing. EDWARD E. HALE.]

WHITE EARTH RESERVATION,

Minnesota, *March 9, 1894.*

Having now a little time, I write you more fully about the extracts from Eliot's Bible, about which I wrote you a line lately.

The first means "Seeing the multitudes He went up into a mountain, and when He was set His disciples came unto him."

In the first word, *Nauont*, the *nau* is the *wau* of the Ojibway or Chippewa, which means seeing, as in *waubuma*, "he is seen." There is a slight change, as you will observe, from N to w.

The second word I do not recognize. We ourselves have various words for that, as throngs, multitudes, crowds, and it may be they have used one that has fallen into disuse with us.

The next word, *ogquodchua*, means "he ascended the mountain." In nearly the same form it is in use among the Ojibways, one syllable only being ellipsed in the printed passage. "Mountain" is included in the word, in the *chu*. The *au* at the end is the action (or, as we would express it in English, he *made* the ascent), *au* marking the continued action. *Ogquod* means "to the top," or "above."

In the next word, *wadchuut*, the Ojibway *wadchu*, a mountain, is most plainly contained, and is written exactly as they pronounce it to-day and always have.

As to the next word, *kah.na matapit*, it is exactly, "when he was set," or "when he had sat down."

The next word is not perfectly clear, but bears a strong resemblance to the Ojibway *kikinoamagun*, "disciple," or "scholar," which I have no doubt it is. The *ene* in it seems to say that they were male disciples, from *enene*, "a man," which, I think, is included in the word.

The next word, *peyauónuk*, has in the foreground the *pe*, signifying "coming to" or "approaching," and constantly prefixed in Ojibway to verbs, to impart to them that meaning, as apparently here. The *ya* is the Ojibway *ija* or *icha*, "to go," and with the *pe* means "approached" or "came."

The *nuk* probably expresses the *iniu*, "they" of the Ojibway,—“They (the disciples) came to Him.”

The next verse translated means, “When He had opened His mouth, He taught them, saying.” The *kah* is a prefix to the verb, the same that appears in the verse before, and means “when he had done so and so,” that is, when he had opened His mouth. This is expressed in the idiom of the Ojibway, and is set down in the printed slip as an Ojibway would say it if he were describing the occurrence to a friend. It is idiomatically and properly expressed.

The verb following, *woshwunum*, is not recognizable by me. It must have become antiquated. The Ojibway word is *pakinan*, to open. The next word, *wuttoon*, is “His mouth,” and as it is printed conveys to the ear about the exact sound in which the Ojibway speaks it to-day. They pronounce it now as if spelled *ottoon*. Any one can see that the difference between *o* and *wu* is almost imperceptible, when they are placed before the *ttoon*. This is to me one of the most exact correspondences between the two languages of any in the printed slip sent me.

The next word, *ukkuhkootomauuh*, answers to the Ojibway *kikinoumege*, “he teaches,” to which it has a strong resemblance. The next word, *noowau*, is “saying,” and is the same as the Ojibway word *ewan*, “he says,” a word in very common use, and is, to me, evidently the same word.

The third verse translated means, “Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.” The first word, *wunnānum*, is the same as the Ojibway *onnan*, which joined with the terminal syllables means “joy,” hence “blessed.” It is a word in very constant use by the Ojibways to-day, and with them, as in the printed slip, the second is the strongly accented syllable.

The next word, *oog*, is the Ojibway *ogo*, “those,” “Blessed are those who are poor,” &c.

The next word, *kodtummunge*, is the Ojibway *kitunagosi*, “he is poor.” As printed it has very much the sound the Ojibway man makes when speaking of somebody being poor. It is one of the commonest words in the language.

The next two words, *teahonc heg*, are really one word, the *heg* having been improperly detached from the preceding letters, either from a mistake of the printer or because the *c* came at the end of a line, and so the *heg*, written on

the next line, was thought to be a separate word. *Teahoncheg* means "in spirit." The Ojibways have exactly the same word for spirit, the human soul, with a slight reduplication of the syllable, *chichag* or *cheg*. The *teah* means "in," and in the Ojibway *imah*, meaning "there" or "in," the last syllable being the same as in the printed slip, the first changed.

The next word, *a*, is not the Ojibway for "for." The next word, *newutche*, is, I take it, the Ojibway, *iniu*, "theirs." It contains the most striking and characteristic syllable of *iniu* or *inew*, with an addition.

The next word, *wuttaihéeu*, answers in sound very closely to the Ojibway *wettaii*, with an addition by way of termination, which means "it is their property," that is, those poor in spirit "have as their property," or "possess" the Kingdom of Heaven. The same word of the same sound, *wettaii*, is used in the Ojibway Testament by the Ojibway translator in this very place, although the amanuensis spelled it a little differently.

The next word, *kesukque*, is one of the most unmistakable Ojibway words, *kesuk*, or *kesik* meaning "sky" or "heaven." The *que* is a connective, and is written *ke* in Ojibway; nearly the same sound. *Ketassoota móonk* I take to be the Ojibway *debendassoowin*, inheritance. The *m* in the end of the word signifies in Ojibway that it is their peculiar possession. The termination *onk* signifies at or to; that is, the place where their possession is.

Respectfully yours,

J. A. GILFILLAN,
Missionary to the Chippewas.

WHITE EARTH RESERVATION,
Minnesota, April 5, 1894.

I write to correct some things I stated in my last letter to you, said correction being occasioned by my finding your favor of 16th June, 1891, in which you enclose some sentences from Eliot's Bible, the first three being the first three verses of the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, the same you lately sent me, and the others the remainder of the Beatitudes.

On looking at them I see that the *kah* is not a prefix of the verb, as I at first supposed, but is the word "and."

We have it now nearly the same in Ojibway, *kahye*, the final syllable being ellipsed by Eliot's Indian or added by ours.

The second correction I would make is that, in verse three, the *og* is not a separate word, is not "those," as I at first thought, which is spelled by us *ogo*, but is the terminal inflection of the verb *wunnànum*, and is the third person plural indicative of the verb. The third person plural is formed by us in like manner by adding the syllable *og*, as witness *inendum*, "think," *inendumog*, "they think." Seeing it separated from the *wunnànum* in the specimen you send me, was what made me think at first it was the pronoun *ogo*.

In the other verses of the Beatitudes there is the same similarity to the Ojibway, as in the three verses sent, as witness in verse five, *ohke*, the same as our *ahke*, "land," or "the earth," both being substantially the same language, and the construction of both and the manner of inflection very much alike.

I am, very respectfully yours,

J. A. GILFILLAN.

PROCEEDINGS.

ANNUAL MEETING, OCTOBER 24, 1894, AT THE HALL OF THE
SOCIETY IN WORCESTER.

The President, Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY, in the chair.

The following members were present :¹ George E. Ellis, Edward E. Hale, George F. Hoar, Nathaniel Paine, Stephen Salisbury, Samuel A. Green, Elijah B. Stoddard, George S. Paine, Edward L. Davis, William A. Smith, James F. Hunnewell, Egbert C. Smyth, John D. Washburn, Edward G. Porter, Reuben A. Guild, Charles C. Smith, Thomas H. Gage, Edmund M. Barton, Franklin B. Dexter, Philipp J. J. Valentini, Charles A. Chase, Samuel S. Green, Justin Winsor, Henry W. Haynes, Frederic W. Putnam, Andrew McF. Davis, J. Evarts Greene, Charles M. Lamson, Henry S. Nourse, William B. Weeden, Daniel Merriman, Reuben Colton, Robert N. Toppan, Henry H. Edes, Edward Channing, George E. Francis, Frank P. Goulding, A. George Bullock, G. Stanley Hall, John McK. Merriam, William E. Foster, Hamilton A. Hill, John F. Jameson, Charles P. Bowditch, Calvin Stebbins, Francis H. Dewey, Charles J. Hoadly, Benjamin A. Gould, Edward L. Pierce, Henry A. Marsh, Frederick A. Ober, John E. Hudson, Rockwood Hoar.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and approved.

The Report of the Council was read by Mr. WILLIAM B. WEEDEN of Providence, R. I., who also read a paper entitled "Quality the Prevailing Element in Representation."

The Report of the Treasurer was presented in print by Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE.

¹The names follow the order of election to membership.

The Report of the Librarian was presented by Mr. EDMUND M. BARTON.

On motion these reports were accepted and adopted, and referred to the Committee of Publication.

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR presented to the Society the original manuscripts of an address to President John Adams, signed by the principal citizens of Westmoreland, Virginia, and of the President's answer, signed by him. The answer is dated July 11, 1798. The address is without date; it was probably presented just before that time.

"These manuscripts are especially interesting," said Senator HOAR, "on account of one sentence in the address to the President. I suppose the phrase of Abraham Lincoln, 'Government by the people, of the people, and for the people,' with the possible exception of the opening sentence of the Declaration of Independence, is the one utterance which has found firmest lodgment and acceptance with the American people, and all who reverence free government everywhere. It always stirs a public audience when it is appropriately quoted. The sentence in the declaration,—'that our people are hostile to a government made by themselves, for themselves, and conducted by themselves is an insult, malignant in its nature and extensive in its mischief,'—shows that the phrase is one which has been growing up and finding its expression for a good while.

"I came across a similar sentence, from an ancestor of mine, who, I suppose, was rather an uncomfortable creature to deal with. But he deserves to be respected as the man who had the courage and enterprise to go into the wilderness to ransom Mrs. Rowlandson. The expression is in Sewall's diary. He says: 'John Hoar comes into the lobby and said he comes from the Lord, by the Lord, to speak for the Lord.'¹

"I submit these papers for the disposition of the Publication Committee. I will reserve the property in these

¹ Sewall Papers, Mass. Hist. Coll., 5th Series, Vol. V., p. 333.

manuscripts for the present, though they will probably become the property of the Society at a later time.”¹

“TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

“*Sir*

“Your fellow Citizens of the County of Westmoreland cannot at this portentous Crisis withhold their Offering of Gratitude and Respect to their Chief Magistrate, as well to assure him of their unshaken Decision at all Times and on all Occasions to maintain inviolate the Independence of their Country, as to relieve the Reputation of the American Nation from the unfounded Aspersions which the Agents of a foreign Country have asserted in support of Wrong inflicted in Contempt of a solemn Treaty of Friendship on our unoffending peaceable Fellow Citizens, and of Demands made on the Honor and Purse of [of] our Country.

“The Declaration that our People are hostile to a Government made by themselves, for themselves and conducted by themselves is an Insult malignant in its Nature, and extensive in its Mischiefs—

“While it supports the Opinion that the Efforts of the accusing Nation have under the cover of Amity promoted the deepest Injury, it shows too that on the Success of this favourite Scheme do they Chiefly rely for the Execution of their wicked projects—

“On our Enemy the acknowledgment pours down Shame and Confusion, and is to our Countrymen a monitory Lesson from which great Good we trust will be deriv’d—

“That Freemen should differ in Opinion concerning the Measures of their Government is not only to be expected but is even to be desir’d when Obedient to Law and Guided by Love of Country: But Differences like these (and we believe that generally speaking only such have existed amongst us) while they prove the general Happiness, may be consider’d as sure pledges of united Efforts to defend the Government from Insult and Injury, under whose Wing all participate alike in the felicity it diffuses—

“If we should unfortunately hold in our Bosom Citizens bearing the American Name and destitute of the American Heart, they must be few in Number, and Wise Laws firmly executed will speedily cure every Evil flowing from this source: To the

¹ Senator HOAR has since given these valuable MSS. to the Society.

Wisdom of Congress we look for the Remedy, and in your paternal Vigilance and immovable firmness, We rely for its effectual Application—

“When our Forefathers exchanged their Native Country for the Wilderness of America, Devotion to their God, Obedience to the Precepts of Morality, Love of Liberty guided by Love of Order were their governing Principles. This precious Inheritance our Fathers cherish’d with sincere Affection, and in a Late awful Trial to the influence of these first rate Rules on our infant Nation may with Truth be Chiefly ascribed the glorious Issue of our common Toils and common Dangers: That Issue we hold in Trust for our posterity, and that Trust We will never forfeit. Since that period we have grown strong by Union: Where is the Nation that can coerce United Columbia into Submission? The Sun has not yet shone upon it.

“We Love peace, We hate War, but we prize our Honor too highly to wish the continua [nce of the?] first or to [fly?] from the perils of the Last with a degraded Name. We believe too (and in this Belief past as well as present Experience justifies us) that the surest Way to preserve peace is to be prepared for War.

“Your Sincere and dignified Endeavours to conciliate Differences, to obtain Restitution for Wrongs, to sacrifice all secondary Considerations on the Altar of Peace sheds new Lustre on your well earn’d Fame, and adds a new Title to your establish’d Claim on the Admiration and Gratitude of your fellow Citizens.

“Conciliation being rejected, War continued. One course only was left by which National Disgrace could be instantly arrested and National Existence permanently maintained. That happy Course you have taken with decision frankness and Fortitude and We cannot hesitate as to the part becoming us to act: In Peace We obey the Laws, We foster the Union of the States, We inspire our Children with Love of Virtue, of their Country, of their Government, and their God. In War We know but one additional Obligation, To die in the Last Ditch or uphold our Nation.

“This sacred Duty We will teach by our Example, and in full reliance on the Justice of our Cause We are prepar’d to meet every Event to which We may be expos’d with a Resolution deserving Victory

"To the Almighty Ruler We humbly commend [commend]
our Country and our President and We implore him to pour upon
them the continual dew of his Blessing

~~Jas Jas Maund~~
~~Jas A. Thompson~~
~~James Crump~~
~~Tiny Harrington~~
~~Garner~~

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1 Grover Mulock | 22 John Brown Junr. |
| 2 G ^o . Carter | 23 Bena M Craht Junr |
| 3 Rich ^d I Burnett | 24 Joel, S, Rose |
| 4 Thomas Gregory | 25 Henry Griggs |
| 5 John Billings | 26 William longworth |
| 6 George Carey | 27 Charles C. Rice |
| 7 John Norwood | 28 Samuel Lyell |
| 8 William Chilton | 29 Jeremiah Sutton |
| 9 John Lomas | 30 William Sutton |
| 10 William Spuvling | 31 John ^{his} x McKenney,
mark |
| 11 Reuben Spuvling | 32 Presty ^{his} x McKenney
mark |
| 12 Benjamin McKenney | 33 Thomas ^{his} x Ennis
mark |
| 13 Thomas ^{his} x Johnson
mark | 34 John gregory |
| 14 Gerrat ^{his} x
mark | 35 George S ^{his} x Freshwater
mark |
| Test 15 Reiuben ^{his} x McKenney
mark | 36 Richard Straughan |
| Geo: 16 James ^{his} x Potter
Garner mark | 37 Corbin Straughan |
| 17 Tho ^s . Huckman Johnson | 38 Mat Calf ^{his} x gill
mark |
| Test 18 James McDanus | 39 George ^{his} x Nash
mark |
| 19 James Gregory | 40 James Sutton |
| 20 Youel F Howsen | 41 William B. Dozier |
| 21 Henry ^{his} x McKenney
mark | 42 Edward Sutton |
| | 43 Thomas ^{his} x Sutton
mark |
| | 44 Allen S Poyin" |

“TO MY FELLOW CITIZENS OF THE COUNTY OF WESTMORELAND
IN THE STATE OF VIRGINIA—

“*Gentlemen*

“An address so replete with sentiments purely American and so respectful to me, subscribed with the Names of four hundred respectable Citizens of Virginia is to me of inestimable Value—

“The declaration that our People are hostile to a Government, made by themselves, for themselves, and conducted by themselves, if it were true, would be a demonstration that the people despise and hate themselves; this inference unnatural and shocking as it seems, is however, always literally true of a corrupted people—

“a People thoroughly corrupted loath nothing so much as themselves, and with perfect Justice and reason, for they can have no Enemy so odious and destructive—this I thank God, is not yet the character of the American People, though great pains have been taken, and great expence incurred to make it so—The Citizens bearing the American name and destitute of the American heart are few in number, and wise Laws discreetly executed will speedily cure every evil flowing from this source The concise portrait of your forefathers is drawn by you with a masterly pencil—devotion to God, obedience to the precepts of morality Love of Liberty guided by Love of Order—these principles, planted America, and transmitted down from generation to generation, carried this Nation triumphantly through the last war—these principles can alone preserve this Country from the ambition and avarice of Nations who [who] have territories near us, and these principles still revered, the Sun has not shone upon that Nation, that can coerce united America into Submission—

“Even those whose trade it is to die Love peace and hate War—when their professional duty does not forbid—Honor however is essential to the happiness of Man—Individuals & Nations are miserable without it—both had better perish than justly forfeit it—the surest way to preserve peace is to be prepared for War—yet even this is not infallible, and in our case, I fully believe at present will not succeed—a year ago it might have answered I have no claims, but on the Justice of my fellow Citizens, for their approbation of Integrity, sincerity and diligence; these ought never to have been disputed—

“You obey the Laws, foster the Union of the States, you inspire your children with love of Virtue, of their Country and their God—the necessary consequence is you will die in the last ditch or uphold your Nation—for these declarations your Country and, all Nations not abandoned to Vice, will love, esteem and admire you, and may the Almighty Ruler of Nations bless you—

“JOHN ADAMS

“Philadelp^a July 11th 98.”

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN: “Theodore Parker used an expression like that of Lincoln’s, many years’ before the oration at Gettysburg.”¹

Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN: “It may be well to say to the Society what I said to the Council last night. I have held the office of Recording Secretary longer, with one exception, than any one ever held it. But I have been necessarily absent a great deal of late, and I therefore announced to the Council that I would like to decline to be

¹The following letter from Dr. GREEN explains itself:—

“MASSACHUSETTS HISTORICAL SOCIETY,
“30 TREMONT STREET, BOSTON.

“October 26, 1894.

“MY DEAR MR. HOAR:

“In Theodore Parker’s ‘Speeches, Addresses, and Occasional Sermons’ (Boston, 1852), you will find the following paragraph in an address he made on the ‘Slave Power in America,’ before the New England Anti-Slavery Convention in Boston, May 29, 1850:—

“‘There is what I call the American idea. . . . This idea demands, as the proximate organization thereof, a democracy, that is, a government of all the people, by all the people, for all the people; of course, a government after the principles of eternal justice, the unchanging law of God; for shortness’ sake, I will call it the idea of Freedom.’ (II. 176.)

“Then, again, in Webster’s ‘Second Speech on Foot’s Resolution,’ delivered on January 26, 1830, as found in ‘The Works of Daniel Webster’ (Boston, 1851), this sentence occurs: ‘It is, Sir, the people’s Constitution, the people’s government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people.’ (III. 321.)

“You may use these facts, supplementing your remarks, in any way you think best.

“Yours very truly,

“SAMUEL A. GREEN.”

“Hon. GEORGE F. HOAR, Worcester.”

a candidate for re-election. They received my communication with kindness, and with many comments very agreeable to me. I have been greatly indebted to all the members through my long term of service, but I think it will be right that I now retire. I made that statement definitely to the Council."

HON. GEORGE F. HOAR: "The Council, after hearing Mr. WASHBURN'S communication last night, passed a vote which they have requested me to communicate to the Society for its concurrence:—

'*Voted*, That the Council and the Society express their gratitude to our associate, the Hon. JOHN D. WASHBURN, for his long and faithful service as Recording Secretary, and that this vote be communicated by the President to the Society for its concurrence.'

"I move for the concurrence of this vote of the Council.

"The meeting of the Council was rendered unusually agreeable, last evening, by the presence of our beloved associate and friend, whose health is in such large measure restored. I should like to put on record what was said to me by a very eminent Swiss physician of Paris, Dr. Laudolt, two years ago. He stands probably at the head of his profession as an oculist and ophthalmic surgeon. A Swiss by birth, he spends his summer vacation in his native country. He spoke to me about Mr. WASHBURN, and said: 'Mr. WASHBURN is extremely popular in Switzerland.' It was not necessary to tell me that he was a popular man; we knew that here; but it was pleasant to me, as an American, to hear this tribute to him there. And it is also very pleasant to say, what I know, that the Department of State entertained the highest regard and opinion of the practical ability which Mr. WASHBURN exhibited in his very important public duty. I am sure that we all unite in our great satisfaction that his health is improved, and in the hope that he will be ultimately completely restored.

"I suggest that the Society depart from its usual mode

of voting, and that the affirmative vote on this resolution be by rising."

The PRESIDENT: "It is only proper that the members should express their feeling of obligation at this time to Mr. WASHBURN for his twenty-three years of service, and the great measure of help that the Society has received by his faithful assistance. The resolution is now before the Society."

It was unanimously adopted by a rising vote.

A committee appointed to collect votes for President reported forty-four votes cast, all for Hon. STEPHEN SALISBURY.

The PRESIDENT: "The chair recognizes the responsibilities of the office, and I shall endeavor to fulfil them to the best of my ability. I thank you for the election."

On motion of Dr. GREEN a committee of three was appointed by the Chair to nominate the other officers, viz.: Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN, Mr. JAMES F. HUNNEWELL, and Mr. JOHN E. HUDSON.

Senator HOAR: "I have another communication to make, which has reference to a matter I mentioned at a former meeting, the effort to redeem and preserve the homestead of General Rufus Putnam of the Revolution. The house, a picture of which is circulated with the Treasurer's Report, is in an excellent state of preservation, and is now the only memorial of the kind, so far as I know, of any famous Revolutionary general in Massachusetts. The present owners will sell the house and farm of about one hundred acres for four thousand dollars. The man who has owned it almost ever since General Putnam went to Marietta, Mr. Meade, is dead. It is proposed to raise that sum to buy the house and farm. Probably some of the out-lands can be sold, by which the cost will be diminished and some little provision made for a fund for keeping the place in repair, and perhaps for a museum of local antiquities. A very enthusiastic meeting, attended by several gentlemen present, was held

there last week, and about eleven hundred dollars was obtained on the spot. I suppose there will be no difficulty in getting the four thousand dollars. When we have got about twenty-five hundred, it may be well to ask the Ohio Society and the New York Society to aid in the matter. It seems unnecessary to say that Rufus Putnam was declared by George Washington to be the ablest engineer officer of the Revolutionary army. He improvised the fortifications of Dorchester Heights, when the ground was filled with frost and was like a rock, in March, 1776. He fortified West Point, and, I suppose, selected it as a suitable place. He devised, at Washington's request, a plan to build a defence of our frontier, both on the lakes and on the sea. He was also an eminent officer in the old French War. That alone would be enough to make this appeal interesting to anyone who values the history of Massachusetts. But his great service to mankind is that he was 'the father and founder of Ohio,' as the Ohio historian calls him. It was due to him, more than to any man, that that great territory was saved from slavery;—that the scale was turned in our history, so that we are not now a great slave-holding empire, with, perhaps, a few of the descendants of the Puritans in New England making a feeble struggle for some measure of protest against its introduction here. I think that, with the single exception of George Washington, Rufus Putnam's was the greatest personal and individual influence in all American history. I would not except Franklin, nor any one excepting Washington. Other gentlemen may have their own views of that.

“It is proposed to convey this place, on its purchase, to the Trustees of Public Reservations, of which Mr. Charles Eliot is Secretary. That was thought the best thing to do. It is not usual to take advantage of gentlemen coming here to get their names on subscription papers, but any gentleman who is interested in the matter, who would like to unite in this undertaking, may confer with Mr. PAINE or

myself, and we will gladly see that his subscription is put on the paper."

The Committee on Nominations reported a list which, by vote, was elected by the Secretary casting a yea vote for the list as presented. The following officers were thus declared elected:—

Vice-Presidents:

Hon. GEORGE FRISBIE HOAR, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EDWARD EVERETT HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

Secretary for Foreign Correspondence:

Hon. JAMES HAMMOND TRUMBULL, LL.D., of Hartford, Connecticut.

Secretary for Domestic Correspondence:

Rev. GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS, LL.D., of Boston.

Recording Secretary:

CHARLES AUGUSTUS CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

Treasurer:

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE, of Worcester.

Councillors:

Hon. SAMUEL ABBOTT GREEN, M.D., of Boston.

Hon. PELEG EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., of Worcester.

Rev. EGBERT COFFIN SMYTH, D.D., of Andover.

SAMUEL SWETT GREEN, A.M., of Worcester.

Hon. EDWARD LIVINGSTON DAVIS, A.M., of Worcester.

FRANKLIN BOWDITCH DEXTER, M.A., of New Haven, Connecticut.

JEREMIAH EVARTS GREENE, A.B., of Worcester.

GRANVILLE STANLEY HALL, LL.D., of Worcester.

WILLIAM BABCOCK WEEDEN, A.M., of Providence, Rhode Island.

Hon. JOHN DAVIS WASHBURN, LL.B., of Worcester.

Committee of Publication:

REV. EDWARD E. HALE, D.D., of Roxbury.

MR. NATHANIEL PAINE, of Worcester.

CHARLES A. CHASE, A.M., of Worcester.

CHARLES C. SMITH, A.M., of Boston.

Auditors:

WILLIAM A. SMITH, A.B., of Worcester.

A. GEORGE BULLOCK, A.M., of Worcester.

REV. EDWARD E. HALE: "I wish to express my acquiescence as to the importance of this great memorial to Rufus Putnam, to the man who went out from Massachusetts and founded Ohio. We are so fortunate, in Boston, as to have the works which General Putnam fortified in that remarkable manner, which George Washington directed, which Artemas Ward superintended, and which John Thomas carried out. The fortifications on Dorchester Heights are now part of that great system of parks that Boston has established. A stone monument was erected there,—which does not, however, contain the name of any one of the gentlemen whom I have just mentioned, but has on it the name of the mayor of the city of Boston at the time the stone was set up!"

MR. J. EVARTS GREENE: "What Dr. HALE has just said suggests another fact in regard to the memorials of Boston. When I was a boy there were some earthworks of Revolutionary times still standing in Roxbury. Their lines and slopes were as perfect as when occupied by the army, to all appearance. We boys used to run up and down upon them and were perfectly familiar with them. We were very much interested in them, as boys would be, as visible memorials of that old time. Some few years ago, perhaps fifteen, I revisited Roxbury, which I had not done since my boyhood; and, among other places, I went to that. I found no trace of those old earthworks remaining. I was warned off the ground by some one who seemed to be in charge,

and in answer to my inquiries, he said that the earthworks had all been dug down and carted away within a few years; and he pointed out to me a monument, about four feet high, on which was a tablet saying that on this spot the earthworks of the Revolution had existed, and that this monument was erected by the city of Boston, so-and-so mayor! Those earthworks should have been preserved after the city of Boston acquired the property. They would have lasted thousands of years, with slight attention to repairing the wear of storms and the washing of rain, and would have been one of the most impressive and interesting things in the vicinity of Boston. So far as I know, not a voice was raised in remonstrance when they were entirely removed by the city itself."

The Recording Secretary reported the action of the Council in regard to nominations for membership. "The Council have instructed me to recommend for Foreign Membership, Mr. Hubert Hall of the Record Office, London; for Domestic Membership, James Lyman Whitney of Cambridge, Mass., Robert Charles Winthrop, Jr., of Boston, and Hon. Cushman Kellogg Davis of St. Paul, Minn."

Ballots were cast, and the foregoing candidates were declared elected.

The PRESIDENT called attention to a gift which the Society had just received from our associate, Mr. EDWARD H. THOMPSON of Yucatan, being a set of phonograph rolls, containing the songs of the Maya Indians from some of the primitive portions of Yucatan. Mr. THOMPSON is now the director of a large plantation in the extreme wild portion of Yucatan, which contains the very finest buildings now extant in North America of aboriginal construction, the collection of buildings known as Chichen-Itza.

Mr. FREDERICK A. OBER: "I can add nothing to what has been said with reference to this group of buildings. I believe it is the most important group in Yucatan. Of course all these different groups are unique, each one by

itself, though Chichen-Itza is doubtless richest in its special class of ornamentation. I wish it were possible for a thorough investigation of these ruins to be made; and not only of these, but of all on the peninsula. I have always had a desire to penetrate farther into what we may call the shank of the peninsula. Several years might be profitably spent, with great advantage to the ethnological study of the world, if it were possible to make these explorations. I think that eventually this will be accomplished."

A paper was read by PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI, Ph.D., entitled "Analysis of the Pictorial Text inscribed on two Palenque Tablets."

A paper was read by JUSTIN WINSOR, LL.D., on "The Rival Claimants for North America. 1497-1755."

Mr. ANDREW MCFARLAND DAVIS said that there had come into the possession of his brother, J. C. BANCROFT DAVIS, of Washington, a medal made of some soft metal, bearing on one side the impress of his father's portrait, John Davis; on the reverse side, a copy of the inscription on the monument to his father. As the monument which it represented had been replaced, he wondered how and where this medal had been produced. He called the attention of members to it, that they might, if possible, give some information in reference to it. Mr. DAVIS continued:

"I recently happened to see a statement that a man, by the name of Flemming, was, in the last century,—about 1743, I think,—convicted in Middlesex County of the crime of incest, and that he was tried, sentenced, and punished by being borne to the county gallows with a halter on his neck, that he received forty stripes on his back, and was placed on the gallows for a certain time. In addition to that, he wore upon his clothes a letter 'I,' of a color contrary to the color of the cloth. This brings to mind the story of Hawthorne's 'Scarlet Letter.' On speaking to Dr. GREEN about this, he told me that he had seen the account of this particular case, and that he thought that he had met with a later case. It

raises an interesting question, how late this punishment was carried on. Hawthorne's story is placed at about 1650. A little consideration of the matter showed that it might be more interesting to find out how *early* this punishment was inflicted. The crime of adultery, in colonial times, was punished by death. I had supposed that Hawthorne's story was based on a fact and that the punishment was in accord with contemporary law. I am now inclined to think that no instance of punishment of that kind could have occurred in colonial times for the crime of adultery."

Dr. SAMUEL A. GREEN: "This trial, if I remember aright, occurred in Charlestown.¹ If so, that would bring it in Middlesex County and not Suffolk. I have seen somewhere in a newspaper the record of a person convicted, who was obliged, as a punishment, to wear a letter on his clothing. It was since or during the Revolution, and I think it occurred here in Worcester, where a man was sentenced,—perhaps between 1775 and 1785. It produced an impression on my mind, and I have since been sorry that I did not make a note of the case.

"I would like to say, while I am speaking, that my attention has just been called to a clerical error in the report of some remarks of mine at the last meeting. 'Governor Dallas' should read 'George M. Dallas.'"

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE said he remembered seeing such a medal² as that described by Mr. DAVIS, and that it was made in Worcester many years ago by an ingenious die-sinker.

¹ "Last Friday One Andrew Flemming of Groton was convicted at the Assizes held at Charlestown, of Incest with his own Daughter, for which he was sentenced to sit upon Gallows at Cambridge with a Rope about his Neck, and then to be whip'd Forty Stripes in the Way from the Gallows to the Prison. And Yesterday he receiv'd his Punishment. The Daughter has absconded."—*The Boston Weekly News-Letter*, Thursday, February 10, 1743.

² This medal was made by a Mr. Lang of the firm of Knox & Lang, at Worcester, about the time of the breaking out of the Civil War. Very few copies were struck from the die, and these in white metal. One of these rarities has been placed in our medallie collection by our associate, Mr. WILLIAM A. SMITH. The original die is still in Worcester, in the possession of the successors to Knox & Lang.

Mr. DAVIS : "There are instances recorded where people were compelled to sit in the stocks with placards on them. What I especially desire to know is about having to wear a letter on their clothes."

Dr. G. STANLEY HALL : "It is well known that in the general field of biology there has been an almost revolutionary change within the last twenty-five years; since embryology became a central subject of interest. Before that, all who studied life had been interested specially in the question of classification. When it was found that the human embryo and the embryo of lower animals repeated the stages by which the whole history of life proceeded, two departments of science were brought into connection,—paleontology, which treats of the hard parts of the animals, which are preserved, the rock-written records; and embryology, the development of the embryo. That subject has become the chief centre of work in biology now. It has shed an amazing amount of light on all questions of animal life, because it is found that the individual repeats the history of the race. All the stages of life on the globe are represented in the history of the embryo between the time when it is a single cell and the time it becomes an adult individual; the embryo recapitulates all the stages of development. So, within the last few years, an analogous change has been coming about,—which I thought might be interesting to you,—in those studies which pertain to the feelings, emotions, mind and will of man. Formerly we had the old divisions of logic, psychology, philosophy, ethics. We have now come to an epoch-making period, a new departure, in which scientific men study psychic genesis, the development of the intellectual faculties in the lower forms of life, and especially in the child. The point of interest is that the history of the child repeats the history of the race. If, step by step, we compare the pursuits, the customs, the rites, the feelings, beliefs of savage races, we find them repeated in little children. This is now recognized

by science, and we have seven associations organized to compare the records of primitive life with the records of the child, step by step and faculty by faculty. This already gives promise of great results; and I have no doubt that the next few decades will show as momentous a change as the study of embryology has brought about in biology. As the biologist looks now through the microscope and now at the rock-record and finds each supplements the other, the modern student of the soul looks now at child life and now at savage myth, custom and belief to restore the lost stages of psychogenesis. Of course the sciences of psychology, logic, metaphysics, still exist, in a field by themselves, and have their own independent value, just as the classification of plants and animals has an independent value. But we find that the common children, all about us on the street, when studied carefully will show us this result. It is hard to get at the soul of a child,—as hard as it would be for a thinking electric light to reason about shadows. As we study child-life and get at its inmost secrets, we find, for one thing, every step of fetich-worship is repeated before our eyes. So with animism: the child invests the animals and plants with human sympathies. There is not a single phase of animism, as discovered in the history of savage life, that is not reduplicated in the history of children. The significance of this is that a knowledge of it must affect religion, education, and especially all those departments of science which deal with those things which distinguish men, as men, from the lower animals. It seemed to me a brief notice of a method so new and so very promising, might be worth the attention of our Society, interested as it is in the antiquarian stages of human evolution."

DR. HALE said that Miss Helen L. Webster of Wellesley College had had the goodness to re-write the passages already cited from Eliot's Bible¹ with the more modern

¹ Ante, p. 314.

vocalization adopted by Mr. Sherman Hall. He presented the text in this spelling, and it will be found below :—

PASSAGES FROM ELIOT'S BIBLE WRITTEN IN
OJIBWA PHONETICS.

—
MATTHEW V. 1, 2, 3.

1. Nauont moojekushaoh ogkuojnau uajuut, kah na matapit, ukkodnetuhtaeneumoh peiaúonuk.
2. Kah uoshnunum uuttoon, ukkuhkootomaauh noonau.
3. Unnanumoog kodtummungeteahonkheg, a neuuje uuttai-beeu kesukke ketassootamóonka

JOSHUA I. 5, 6, 7.

5. Matta pish houan tapenumoo neepauun ut anakuabean nefohke pomantaman: neane ueetomogkup Moses ne kittin ueetomunun, 'matta kuppans hadtauuahunoo, asuh kutohku anumunoo.
6. ^dMenuhkesish, kah unneuuttooantaish, neuuje pish kujajaubenumau ieug missiminuog, uuj ahtoonk, ohke ne jajeke imogkup utooshiñeunk nuttinnumauonaout.
7. Uebe menuhkeish, kah moojeke uuttooantash, onk woh kukkuhkinnea ussenat, neaunag wane naumatuonk ne Moses nuttinneum, auonukkueop eahke kushketash en unninnohkounit, asuh menajeanit, onk wóh koone sóhkaus uttoh aoan.

The thanks of the Society were voted to the various speakers, and they were requested to furnish the Committee of Publication with copies of their remarks for publication.

At the close of the meeting, the members of the Society dined with President SALISBURY.

Adjourned.

JOHN D. WASHBURN,
Recording Secretary.

REPORT OF THE COUNCIL.

YOUR Committee, appointed to prepare the report of the Council, have little to say with regard to the conduct and condition of the Society, beyond what is contained in the reports of the Treasurer and Librarian herewith submitted.

Our associate, Judge Simeon E. Baldwin of New Haven, has kindly consented to prepare for us a notice of our late associate, Prof. William D. Whitney; and Vice-President Hoar, that of our late associate, the Rev. Grindall Reynolds, D.D.

For the Council,

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

QUALITY THE PREVAILING ELEMENT IN REPRESENTATION.

BY WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

My purpose is to examine the history of New England, that we may trace out the origins of a principle which has affected our whole development in common with the United States. Perhaps the movement has been more marked in our district than elsewhere, and we may well look in these New England States for the clearest working of a political principle, which has constantly exercised profound influence in shaping the destinies of America.

Representation, the delegation of the sovereignty of citizens to a body of trustees or legislators, has been fully treated in various ways and by differing schools of thought. To my mind there should be discrimination in representation itself. It has been the qualitative element in this system of delegated functions which has controlled the action and the resultant government of the voters, legislators and

governors of New England. It is the essence, rather than the bulk, of the governed, which has manifested itself in the choice of officers, and which has finally issued forth in legislative and executive action. The meaning of the word is always most affected by its great opposite—quantity or bulk. In this study we need a closer definition. Locke, after explaining his doctrine of ideas, says, “whatever the mind perceives in itself, or is the immediate object of perception, thought or understanding, that I call idea; and the power to produce any idea in our mind I call *quality* of the subject wherein that power is.”

The practical Blackstone gives a definition that we can handle and feel in its actual contact with common affairs. “The true reason of requiring any *qualification* with regard to property in voters, is to exclude such persons as are in so mean a situation that they are esteemed to have no will of their own.” I would not draw out the differing tendencies of the word, but rather develop its sympathetic side. There is the tendency of like to like in all forms of representative government, wherever that government accords with the ways and wants of its constituent people.

Society had a new opportunity, when the bands of English adventurers planted themselves in these colonies. Europe had been working itself into nationalities run in the moulds laid by the Romans. A powerful municipal life had grown up within the larger political field of empire, and this life had been modified by the ecclesiastical functions of the Roman Church; latterly, by the severe restraint of the Reformed Church, as it prevailed in Northern Europe. Over and through all, the great organizing power of feudal society carried its sinews of military domination, and firmly kept its nervous grasp on the land.

All was changed in the new England, that transported the habits and customs, but not the substance and underlying structure, of the old England. The land here was not occupied by peasants, alternately wielding a spade for

their own bread and taxes, and a pike and spear for their count or earl. Excepting the hindrance of a few savage tribes, meadow and forest waited for the hand of the farmer, who should soon come to be a citizen. Earth, standing-room, the privilege of a grave, was no longer the basis of existence and the main-stay of the State. Man in his own right, a legalized social being but an individual master, stood forth, to control the soil spread out to receive the new institutions he was about to plant upon it.

Again, these individuals and families were a picked lot. For the first two centuries the best of their kind came to America and the weakest dropped out by the way. Exceptional races furnished their contingents. Even in New England there was an effective admixture of blood; Ireland and Scotland, Germany and France, were mingled in the larger English stream. It will be understood, I do not mean that the best individuals came to America, leaving the worst in Europe, or that those coming excelled the better sort of those remaining at home. Culture and social privilege—with their inevitable results—remained with the older institutions of Europe. I would simply note that a new and large opportunity was opened to these average citizens, who had been selected and were to be arranged by new social processes.

This rupture of old social ties and new arrangement under changed conditions has led many observers to construe New England as a democratic society. Nothing could be more unlike the actual state of affairs. We need not refer to Cotton or Winthrop to show the antipathy of the most trusted leaders to democratic methods. The necessary drift of the new country carried the settlers away from democratic equality, and carried them, not into ranks and classes, but classified their energies for the final good of the whole community. Rhode Island, alone, by force of her peculiar circumstances, began with pure democratic methods. Soon the American drift carried her into

legislation and government, whose general political effect can hardly be distinguished from the more aristocratic hierarchical development of Massachusetts and Connecticut.

At the very first, whether at Plymouth, Salem, and Boston, or New Haven, Connecticut, and Providence, the public business got under way as it could, and government adapted itself to the varying circumstances of these settlements. It is generally agreed that representation in Massachusetts was fairly instituted in about three years after the founding of the Bay plantations.¹ And this representation worked itself out on the lines I have briefly indicated. The social customs, the ingrained political ideas, the resulting institutions of Englishmen, took root in a new soil and developed rapidly into a new line of institutions, which ultimately came to be the organs of a new State. It was the quality and essential nature of these people which directed the lines of this development and gave final unity to different communities. We gain little by too minute classification of these historic incidents according to the terms of Greek, Roman or English experience. The influence of a corporation issuing from the Crown of England and planting itself on a wide territory, that influence must make itself felt, even when it was not strictly corporeal.² Yet it was not a mere corporation, nor was that corporate body succeeded by an oligarchy.

To comprehend this matter let us glance at some criticism of unfriendly observers. Thomas Morton gives us his notion of John Endicott. "This man thinking none so worthy as himself, took upon him infinitely: and made warrants in his own name . . . To these articles every Planter, old and new, must sign, or be expelled. . . . That

¹ Representation and Suffrage in Mass. Haynes, 12 Hopkins, University Studies, VIII. 14. I have freely used this careful essay.

² See Genesis of the Massachusetts Towns, Proceedings Mass. Hist. Soc., Jan., 1892, where the whole subject is discussed by Adams, Goodell, Chamberlain and Channing.

in all causes, as well Ecclesiastical as Politicall we should follow the rule of God's words . . . for the construction of the words would be made by them of the Separation to serve their owne turnes."¹ This might be Morton's idea of the "free handling" of Scripture, which two centuries of experience may have somewhat justified. Not so, honest John Endicott in his day and generation. He wrote to Bradford, "God's people are all marked with one and the same mark and sealed with one and the same seal, and have for the main, one and the same heart, guided by one and the same spirit of truth; and where this is there can be no discord."² This was admirable in the spirit and not vexatious for the body, until it came to be rendered politically and to affect the every-day business of mankind. Then Edward Johnson, "a very devout and explicit Puritan," shows us the proper method of governing a State. He said, in 1637, that his brethren "also hate every false way, not that they would compel men to believe by the power of the Sword, but to endeavor all to answer their profession; whether in Church Covenant or otherwise, by knowing they bare not the Sword in vaine."³

It is true that Bradford and Winthrop were larger and more in accord with the type of the colonial Massachusetts which was to come. But in that day the average planter and Puritan was very like Endicott and Johnson. It was not because John Endicott wielded the power of a corporation, deriving from the Crown, nor that Edward Johnson could move a church gathering and moderate a town meeting according to his own will, that these worthies could set up what Thomas Morton conceived to be a tyranny. These men were of the same quality as those they represented. All or nearly all the men who obtained a foothold

¹ New English Canaan. Book III., Chap. XXI.

² Morton's New England's Memorial, 5th ed., p. 143.

³ Wonder Working Providence, p. 107.

in Massachusetts and Connecticut believed in the same way, that they were sealed with the great seal of the Almighty. Occasionally, one like Wheelwright, Anne Hutchinson or Roger Williams might hold a signet which varied by a line or a shadow from the established mark. He might get out. His ways were not God's ways, as conceived by the average Puritan, and there was no occasion that the fold of the Puritan lambs should be troubled by these ungodly shepherds. The lambs desired to be let alone. Not even Winthrop, with his large benevolence and his reason bred in the true insight of the State, could resist this impelling flood of public sentiment. His profound sorrow in consequence was most pathetic. Cotton was not a bad nor ignorant man, but he could not lift himself a hand's breadth above the quality of the Johnsons, who bore not the sword or the mace of banishment in vain.

It was the merit of Roger Williams that, after he had clashed signets for a time with the men of the Bay and of Plymouth, he perceived that the impressions became somewhat blurred and not available for expression and use in constable's warrants and decrees of banishment. If Endicott's one spirit of truth was comprehended in any one mark, which was a mechanism, then it was the best business of man to hold fast to that mechanism. But Williams discovered, after much travail of spirit, that Johnson's sword might be sheathed, for once, in matters ecclesiastical. Hence the compact made at Providence, "we subject ourselves in active or passive obedience . . . only in civil things."¹ It was an exception of tremendous consequence, too large to be contained in the commonwealth that gave it birth and afforded the first practical exposition of religious liberty.

It was the merit of Thomas Hooker, that while he came far short of Roger Williams in the large perception of a

¹ Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I., 100.

complete division between "civil things" and things ecclesiastical, he organized Connecticut on a basis which enabled it to work a political government, modified by its ecclesiastical connections, for nearly two centuries without substantial changes. Rhode Island, the smallest of principalities, was developed into a State on religious liberty, pure and simple. This was a great object lesson for the whole world, both Protestant and Catholic. Whether a larger community and combination of commonwealths, like New England, could have been worked together on the same basis of principle we shall never know; for it was not tried in that day. Hooker did formulate the Puritan principle into a solid form of law, which could be administered and which made a most prosperous and homogeneous community. That is, the men whom Hooker animated and whom he represented did this work. Hooker has been exalted as the father of American democracy. This has been sufficiently refuted.¹ He did prune down the theocratic rhapsody of the Puritans into some definite form, which the Connecticut farmers administered admirably, to bring out the social life and prosperity which they wanted.

The written constitution of Connecticut did not differ much in essence from the theocratic ideas which underlay the practical administration of Massachusetts Bay, and which interpreted the charter as it was applied to the necessary business of the incipient State. But we shall see that this constitution was interpreted by a group of statesmen whose quality was exactly like that of their constituents and whose action was therefore harmonious. Meanwhile Massachusetts was agitated and torn by parties, which in time worked out a political evolution of another sort. The men of Connecticut said, ". . . a people gathered together, the word of God requires that to maintain the peace and union of such a people, there should be an orderly and

¹ See Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., Jan., 1890. Doyle, *Puritan Colonies*, I., 158.

decent government established according to God, to order and dispose of the affairs of the people at all seasons as occasion shall require ; do therefore associate and conjoin ourselves to be as one public Estate or Commonwealth.”¹ Connecticut did not, like Massachusetts, require freemen to be church members, yet the political result was the same. “Town government and church government were but the two sides of the same medal, and the same persons took part in both.”² Let us look into Hooker’s “Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline,” published in its present form in 1648, after his death. “Men sustain a double relation. As members of the commonwealth they have civil weapons, and in a civil way of righteousness, they may, and should use them. But as members of a Church, their weapons are spirituall, and the work is spirituall, the censures of the Church are spirituall, and reach the souls and consciences of men.”³ He did not hold and is careful to guard himself from religious toleration.⁴ He further elaborates the idea of separation between Church and State. “*No civil rule can properly convey over an Ecclesiasticall right. The rules are in specie distinct, and their works and ends also, and therefore cannot be confounded. . . . But the taking up an abode or dwelling in such a place or precincts is by the rule of policy and civility. . . . Ergo, This can give him no Ecclesiasticall right to Church-fellowship.*”⁵ Here is a dim recognition of the difference there ought to be between spiritual and temporal things in the office of government.

We may now cite a statement which has been latterly brought out or translated from an abstract of a famous sermon preached by Hooker in 1638, and which is justly supposed to have influenced the formation and direction of the

¹ Hinton’s Antiquities, p. 20.

² Johnson’s Connecticut, pp. 59, 220.

³ A Survey of the Summe of Church-Discipline, London, 1648, p. 4.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

constitution of Connecticut. "The choice of public magistrates belongs unto the people, by God's own allowance. . . . The privilege of election, which belongs to the people, therefore must not be exercised according to their humors, but according to the blessed will and law of God."¹

Now, if we survey the whole substance of Hooker's doctrine, as formulated by himself, we easily perceive that he was forging out a practical method of theocratic government, rather than stating any doctrine of political equality administered by a large majority of the people, as we understand democracy in its modern sense.

Another ray of light on the political ideas of Connecticut is reflected from a sermon preached to the soldiers going out to crush the Pequots. This is attributed to Hooker; whether the words were spoken by him or not, they were out of the heart of his system. "Every common soldier among you is now installed a magistrate; then show yourselves men of courage; I would not draw low the height of your enemies' hatred against you and so debase your valour." An essentially Puritan idea, to elevate a man by making him into a representative and trusted agent. And nothing better illustrates the principle I am seeking in the historic record, that quality animated the method of the Puritan representation.

Another and a greater man towers above these men who made New England. We cannot overlook John Winthrop in the most hasty survey of the beginnings of our history. His work is so well known and his record of himself is so complete that we need not dwell upon his part in the drama, further than to cite, "the best part of a community is always the least, and of that least part the wiser are still less."² Or his more general affirmation, "democracy is among most civil nations accounted the meanest and worst

¹ Cited by Palfrey, *History of New England*, I., 536 n.

² Winthrop, *History of New England*, II., 428.

of all forms of government." Greater than any expressed thoughts of Winthrop was his masterly action. States are never conceived in the closet, nor made upon paper. He did the right thing at the right time and enlarged the narrowing tendencies of his sanctimonious brethren, whenever and however they moved forward in common action and together.

Representation should finally deal with the body personated and the delegates must stand for the conviction and possible action of those who put power into the hands of representatives. Who were the men who stood behind these leaders, who followed them to achieve these new methods of government, to attain to new forms of political and social life? The charter of King Charles was succeeded by the freemen of the towns of Massachusetts Bay. The General Court intervened, whether as mother or midwife, has occasioned much learned discussion.¹ If we study the process at any point we may not be absolutely sure whether we are dissecting the chicken or the egg, but the principle of representation I have stated, is never absent. In 1633 these freemen, in the most solemn and formal manner, subscribed to this oath: "Moreover when I shall be called to give my voice touching any such matter of this state, wherein freemen are to deal, I will give my vote and suffrage as I shall judge in mine own conscience may best conduce and tend to the public weal of the body, without respect of persons, or favor of any man."² These heroes had not arrived at Roger Williams's conception, that the consciences of others should have equal rights and full liberty in matters of conscience, but how fully they comprehended themselves as loyal parts and duteous representatives of the State. There had been an oath previously taken in 1631. Palfrey³ estimates that of the 118 freemen

¹ See *Genesis of the Massachusetts Towns*, Adams and others.

² *Mass. Col. Rec.*, I., 117.

³ *Vol. I.*, 348.

who took the oath at that time, from one-half to three-quarters of the number were Church members. In 1633 the General Court enacted the restriction, "no man shall be admitted to the freedom of this body politic, but such as are members of some of the churches within the limits of the same."¹ Apologists² have referred this action to an especial desire to propitiate Puritan purists in England. Cotton wrote to Lord Say and Sele and others "for the liberties of the freemen of this commonwealth are such as require men of faithful integrity to God and the State." But such petty criticism fails to grasp the significance of the whole movement in the colony of the Bay. These restrictions were in the line of development prescribed by the opinions of Endicott, Edward Johnson, Wilson and the rest. Where men are marked with "God's mark" there can be no discord. Of course the practical effect was, as it must be, notwithstanding Hooker's distinctions above cited,³ to make the church door a way of political preferment. But the labels were scriptural and doctrinal, as ecclesiasticism always depends much on labels. Next to the freemen⁴ in political and legal privilege came the inhabitants. These were not simply dwellers in the place, they were "all male adults, not admitted freemen of the colony on one hand, nor servants on the other, who by general laws or by special town acts were allowed to become permanent residents of the town."⁵ The restrictions on persons not having the freemen's privilege were

¹ Mass. Col. Rec., I., 87. ² Palfrey, *History of New England*, I., 345.

³ *Ante*, p. 346.

⁴ At no period were the freemen any considerable proportion of the population. In 1679 small towns of twenty freemen were entitled to the regular delegation of two deputies to the General Court. Boston had a population which, in 1675, had been estimated at 4,000. She wished for a larger representation and remonstrated against the inequality of the parity, "shall 20 freemen have equal privileges with our great town which consists of near twenty times twenty freemen?"—(Ernst. *Constitutional History of Boston*, p. 17.)

⁵ Hopkins, VII., 28. Haynes here accepts Chamberlain's definition. *Genesis of the Mass. Towns*, p. 72. See also *Ibid.*, Adams, p. 12. Goodell, p. 44.

somewhat relieved as early as 1641, when "every man, whether inhabitant or foreigner, free or not free," was permitted by statute to come to "any court, council or town meeting" and urge his motion or complaint. In 1644, enlargement of privilege to non-church members was formally refused.¹

Clearly, the freemen of Massachusetts were a privileged body, selected, as I have shown, by qualitative customs, rather than by a strict rule of suffrage, to represent the whole body of citizens, as we should call the people of the colony. These privileges of the "ins" were constantly vexing the "outs," as occasionally appears in the side lights of history. Winthrop notes, in 1644, that certain decrees were not published, concerning a difference between the governor and council and the magistrates, because "the non-members would certainly take part with the magistrates, and this would make us and our cause, though never so just, obnoxious to the common sort of freemen."² Lechford's adverse opinion was as follows; "The most of the persons at New England are not admitted of their church, and therefore are not freemen; and when they come to be tried there, be it for life or limb, name or estate, or whatsoever, they must be tried and judged too by those of the church who are in a sort their adversaries." This whole system of suffrage and representation was very strong and based on the solid convictions of the people. We perceive this in the fact that all the movements for enlarging political privilege yielded little until 1681.³ Then town inhabitants who had served worthily in local offices were admitted to be freemen. The privilege of property counted very little as against the restrictions of a non-free-man. All the towns guarded jealously the corporate hold upon the land. No one could sell his estate without the

¹ Winthrop, *History of New England*, II., 160.

² Winthrop, *History of New England*, II., 171, and Savage's note.

³ 12 Hopkins, VIII., 53, 58, 59.

consent of the selectmen or town meeting. We should not construe this—as many writers have done¹—too exclusively from the point of view prescribed by religious development. It was not so much orthodoxy, as every doxy, that contributed to build up and strengthen the political system of Massachusetts Bay. Massachusetts made her people subject to freemen who were Church members. The outs in the early days were constantly contending against these barriers, and often suffered great hardships. Connecticut, with less technical restriction, carried her policy along an even road, prescribed by the concurring opinions of her freemen. Rhode Island, having entirely abolished her religious restrictions, developed her polity on lines very similar to the purely political development of Massachusetts and Connecticut. We have noted the agreement subscribed in Providence, “only in civil things.” In 1637 freemen were admitted at Newport, “none but by consent of the body.”² In 1640 there was a general assembly of the freemen of the Plantations. Those who could not attend, sent their sealed proxies (for election of officers) to the judge. In 1647 a majority of the freemen of the colony were present at the General Assembly, when a compulsory quorum of forty was established. This is regarded as the beginning of a representative system.³ Afterwards freemen of the towns were always made freemen of the colony on request to the General Assembly. In 1655,⁴ after nearly a score of years, and customs were well established, “not every resident was a legal inhabitant.” In most cases there was an orderly development of citizens in the modern sense. First a settler, then an inhabitant with rights to common lands, he was eligible to jury duty and to hold the lesser town offices; if satisfactory he was then propounded to be a freeman. At first the freemen were

¹ See Doyle, *Puritan Colonies*, I., 134.

² Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I., 127.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 202.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 256.

all owners of land. A few years later others were admitted who held the franchise without land. The famous restriction on suffrage was not imposed until 1723.¹ This required a freehold qualification of £100, or an income of £2 from real estate; the eldest son of a freeholder could also vote.

The slightest survey shows that in all the colonies there was a general restriction of suffrage and representation. The cause is plain, in that the great unthinking majority determined to be represented by those leaders whose quality accorded with their own political purposes. Massachusetts and Connecticut conceived the Church to be the only means of reaching this end. When Rhode Island cast off this means of primary organization she came at last to the freeholder and the land, as her basis and stay of society, in place of an organization of saints in the Church. In either case, democracy alone could not hold the field. The voice of the people needed some collateral organized system to give stability to the progress of the State. The formal transfer of the powers of the corporation under the Charter of Massachusetts did not occur until the year 1634. A great movement was in process—and the proceedings were as mysterious, so far as records go, as if they had occurred in Athens—this movement brought together deputies of the towns. These deputies reënforced the more aristocratic assistants or governor's council, and they formed the rude basis of a popular House of Representatives.

In some way, no one knows by what authority, the deputies assembled. With the crude notions of popular sovereignty always prevailing, whether the expositors be democrats or anarchists, these law-makers looked about them to find out on what ground they stood. According to Winthrop² they “desired a sight of the patent.” After they found that their only constituted authority required that all laws should be made by the General Court, they

¹ Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, II., 77.

² Vol. I., 153.

took counsel with the Governor. The sagacious statesman, with his usual moderation, explained that the ultimate purpose of the Charter undoubtedly intended a representative body of legislators, who should act for the freemen, whose increasing and inevitable numbers must swamp any common meeting. "A select body to intend that work" would in time be necessary, but now, we are not "furnished with a sufficient number of men qualified for such a business, neither could the commonwealth bear the loss of time of so many as must attend it." There was no spirit of oligarchy here; it was the old aristocratic notion of rulers and superiors: leave us to do your business and we will do better than you can do for yourselves. Like all sensible executives, Winthrop and the General Court appointed a committee to examine and report, fondly trusting that it would become annual and thus relieve the popular pressure. But the freemen, in town meetings assembled, could not be quieted by such aristocratic taffy, however skilfully administered. Like the child who vaults from the nursery stool to a seat at the family table, or the unbidden guest who is able to make himself welcome, three deputies from each of eight towns appeared at the next General Court. The other eight plantations of the colony, being distant and feeble, did not trouble themselves with the bother about popular or constitutional rights. Whatever prescriptive rights were lacking, the representatives of the freemen proceeded to make rights which should answer their purposes. These purposes had now become political, having worked themselves free of economic restriction, and having moved out from direct ecclesiastical control. By the Charter only the Governor with six assistants could admit freemen to the privileges of the Colony. Now the representatives prescribed positively that only the General Court could admit freemen, or appoint officers, civil and military, or raise money, or dispose of lands. For the first time Winthrop was passed over in electing

the Governor. Yet he served under Dudley in the second place just as cheerfully. These results show the invincible power of the popular movement, and especially in that it absorbed for the moment the great personality of Winthrop. That the whole arrangement was natural and that Winthrop speedily rose to the enlarged opportunity, is shown by the fact that he soon took the lead again, in the precedence which his abilities and character gave him.

Having considered the people in their assemblies and towns, we should turn to those remarkable organs of government which articulated between the towns and the common business of living. The town councils, selectmen, town-representatives sometimes called, were out of the very loins of the freemen. Whatever the King's Charter or the ecclesiastical functions of the Church might prescribe, in the selected councils of the towns, the New Englander had his own deputies under his own hand. The selectmen numbered from three to thirteen,¹ chosen by the town to order prudential affairs. In Connecticut² and Rhode Island³ they had the probate of wills and administration of estates. In Massachusetts probate was conducted by the County Court.⁴ To give the multifarious offices and duties⁵ of these minor executives and small legislatures in all the towns of New England, would fill out more than this hour. We are more concerned with the manner of the doing than with the acts done. Dorchester may well be considered a typical town, for on this community John White set his mark, and there was no more potent influence in shaping the pioneers of New England. These solid Puritans, in 1645, "laid to heart the disorders that too often fall out among us and not the least was seldomest in our town meetings, . . . being heartily sorry for and ashamed of the

¹ Howard, *Local Con. History*, p. 75.

² *Ibid.*, p. 76.

³ Arnold, *History of Rhode Island*, I., 209, 369.

⁴ Howard, p. 331.

⁵ *Ibid.*, see pp. 79-88.

premises.”¹ They prescribe the election of “seven or so many of our most grave, moderate and prudent brethren as shall then be thought meet for the managing of the prudential affairs of the town for that year.” The town goes on to arrange carefully for the conduct of business in the town meeting. “When the company is assembled as aforesaid it is ordered that all men shall attend unto what is propounded by the seven men and thereunto afford their best help as shall be required in due order avoiding all janglings by two or three in several companies as also to speak unorderly or unseasonably. . . . in case the seven men shall refuse to propound any man’s motion the party shall after some competent times of patience and forbearance have liberty to propound his own cause for hearing at some meeting provided all disturbance and confusion be avoided.”² It was also ordered that no man should leave the town meeting without “due notice unto the moderator and declaring such occasion as shall be approved by the seven men” upon pain “of twelve pence.” All the towns were as liberal with their selectmen as Weymouth, which enacted in 1651: “Wee willingly grant they shall have their Dynners uppon the towns charge when they meete about the Towns affaires.”³ Boston paid £2.18.5 for “diet for the selectmen in 1641.” This system of deputing the substance of the public business to the selectmen, worked easily and completely, as it carried out the wishes of the freemen, and through them met the desires of the governed. There was a qualifying action on the part of the prudential or selected body, which screened off and then adapted the public business to the exigencies of town meetings and of circumstance. One proof of this may be inferred from the history of the largest town of all, Boston. Here the original course of proceeding was followed until 1702, when

¹Genesis of the Massachusetts Towns, p. 18. The records are largely cited by Adams.

²Genesis of the Massachusetts Towns, p. 16.

³*Ibid.*, p. 28.

the business of town meetings was confined to matters "especially exprest in the Warrant."¹ In 1715 the Province² made a general law to the same effect. So long and so closely did the selectmen and town meeting move in accord with the freemen that no general restraint was needed through a notice in the warrant. We shall gain insight into the practical ways of developing government, especially in Massachusetts, by a glance at the methods of nominating assistants. These were under the Charter, the governor's council; they were to be the upper house or future senate, and as the name indicates they were intended for a constituent part of the executive and became a legislative body in the inevitable development of New England. The nomination of these assistants was a process, wherein the qualifying or selecting methods must be well adjusted, or there could not have been harmony in the clumsy, though simple, mechanism of the period. As early as 1640 there began to be regulation of the nominations. After several expedients, they adopted in 1644 a plan,³ retained, with slight modifications, until the royal government overrode all such administration. It was thoroughly worked out. In town meeting each freeman first voted for any nominee that he pleased, a committee carried these votes sealed to the county town. These delegates then chose one or two, called "shire selectmen," to carry the sealed votes to Boston. With much formality the central convention reported to the selectmen of the various towns the names of seven assistants who had received the highest number of nominating votes. The selectmen announced these names, and these only were voted for at the regular election of assistants. Ballots and proxies were used in elections of magistrates; Indian beans—white for election, black for blanks—were formally substituted for the scarce paper in casting

¹ 8 Bos. Rec., 17, 21.

² Prov. Laws, II., 30.

³ Howard, Local Con. History, p. 354.

ballots. In 1680 Indian corn was adopted instead of beans. These are homely reminders of the constant process of evolution; by which representative government was rooting itself in the soil of New England.

There seemed to be an inevitable development of the freeman, the town, and the legislature, out of the common loins of the people. Many expedients were tried or suggested, then sloughed off as unnecessary for these three institutions, which became the trinal support of the State. For example, in 1644 the General Court of Massachusetts moved to substitute county representation for the direct delegation of the towns. They recited the inconveniences and, "furth^r foreseeing y^t as towns increase y^e numb^r wilbe still augmented," they proposed that twenty deputies be chosen by the freemen of the various shires: six in Suffolk, six in Middlesex, and eight in Essex and Norfolk jointly.¹ The towns declined this easy method of compressing their privileges; power was no longer moving downward from the chartered court, it was ascending from the people.

One of the curious restrictions made by the first generation was in the exclusion of practising lawyers from the deputies or lower house of the General Court. To be exact it was "any person who is a usual and common attorney."² While there was a certain propriety or scruple of decorum in this, inasmuch as the General Court was a court of appeal, when lawyers might be concerned in the cases coming there, we may well doubt if such was the main motive. When we consider Lechford's sorry experience, when he was the only regular lawyer and could not maintain himself at Boston, there appears to be a deeper reason for the exclusion. The upper house or assistants was a more aristocratic and naturally exclusive body than the house of deputies. The assistants were better placed, better educated, generally enjoyed longer terms of office, and had

¹ Howard, *Local Con. History*, p. 355.

² *Mass. Col. Rec.*, IV., Pt. II., p. 87.

many men of legal training among them. Among the deputies the average freeman found himself most at home and he deliberately excluded working lawyers, when their experience and information would have been certainly useful. This was the laic instinct in the New Englander. It manifested itself quite as often in mere prejudice as in the matured independence of the layman. He would have liked to exercise the same power and make himself his own priest in the Church, if he could, but he did not quite dare to tackle the unseen world of spirits. And this is no mere figure of speech, when transported to the life of the seventeenth century. There were actual devils all about and a restless Providence over all, who might oppress or neglect the unwary sinner. The Puritan must have a minister, armed in all the panoply scripture and ecclesiasticism could afford, to breast the attacks of Belial and Satan, to soothe a Jehovah whose methods were rather Satanic.

But on this firm earth the freeman was sufficient unto himself. He could deal with matter, with the earth and earthly things, to his own satisfaction. Law he could make, and precedent he despised, if it did not run according to the accordant notion of the saints marked with Endicott's one seal. Therefore he fondly hoped to dispense with the trained exponents of human law, and to make his own codes, out of his own practical hardy sense and the crude inspirations of a virtuous people.

We might cite numerous illustrations from colonial history to support the positions taken in the beginning. They would all tend in the same direction. In the whole course of colonial political life we find the same qualitative selection and work, and bringing out the force of the people for the immediate business in hand. We shall gain more insight into the matter if we pass to one of the greatest instances of qualitative representation shown in history.

When the awful chasm yawned between the people of

America and the ministers of George III., who were seeking to enforce his royal prerogative; the people, whether freemen or not, whether church members, landholders or not, looked about for a new means and manifestation of government. The old machinery of government could not serve in revolution, could not destroy itself. Some medium was imperative that should embody the new civic force of the people, and put its faith in an energy which could not be exercised through the King's representatives. This was far from independence. That great word was not even whispered. The people were subjects and, feeling so, they were casting about for new organs of political expression, new legislators and governors, who should bring them in some vague way nearer their master, the King. At least this was the form of the movement, though its spirit soon carried the movers beyond their original purpose.

Accordingly, throughout the colonies, there were formed local committees of "Safety, inspection and correspondence." Poor Hutchinson, born in an unfortunate period, too wise for his time, too scrupulous for revolution, saw the bearing of these committees, which underrun the ground of sovereignty itself. He condemned these committees as "not warranted by the constitution," and declared the doctrines set forth by the towns "dangerous." The highest quality of the New World went to the making of these committees. Francis Dana, in writing to Elbridge Gerry, called them "the corner stone of our revolution or new empire." By 1774 they had virtually ceased to be subjects, for Warren voiced their high purpose in these noble words, "when liberty is the prize, who would shun the warfare, who would stoop to waste a coward thought on life?"

The popular character and the representative essence of these committees is fully revealed in the resolutions which accompanied the contributions from all New England to the sufferers at Boston, through the Port Act in 1774. New

Hampshire wrote, the contributions "are from the industrious yeomanry . . . a small part of what we are in duty bound to communicate (give) to those truly noble and patriotic advocates of American freedom who are bravely standing in the gap between us and slavery, defending the common interests of a whole continent, and gloriously struggling in the cause of liberty."¹ Connecticut called her remittance "the first payment of a large debt we owe you."² Rhode Island looked to the future in the common obligation of all the people. "Due care will be taken in this town to afford you that relief your circumstances may require and our abilities may afford."³

Words may or may not stand for things, as results will certainly indicate. But in money and the tax, government always touches the true nerve-currents of political life. A tax voluntarily rendered is a certain touch-stone of representation. Samuel Adams, Warren and the rest had struck home to the hearts of the people. It was through the essential quality of these leaders, drawing from the like elements in their constituency, that a new representation was established, and that Mr. Dana's new empire came into being. A whole people cannot call forth such a tremendous evolution in government as revolution creates. It proceeds from leaders. A significant illustration in the opposite direction is afforded by the destruction of slavery in the United States. Mr. George P. Marsh told me: "Emancipation was the first movement ever initiated by the *people* of the United States."

Some general observations are consequent to this study and force themselves upon the mind. We may well leave particular history at the Revolution, and consider the principles which are involved in this historical development.

Before fully defining representation we must glance at

¹ 4 Mass. Hist. Col., IV., p. 145.

² *Ibid.*, p. 117.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 192.

sovereignty. It is a difficult term. One may say, if the people are sovereign, and if each member of the people has personal rights—and this was demonstrated in the American Revolution, in spite of all chartered prerogative and constitutions—if this be the case, then each man is an autocrat and the people are absolute. But wait! Absolute power, like the divine right of Kings, has become more of a historic figment than a political substance. The royal prerogative in England¹ has been silently disintegrated like an iceberg in its surrounding waters. Absolute power, irrespective of constitutional and legitimate limitations, has become a thing of the past. There have been curious illustrations of the failing power of this absolute will, whether put forth by haughty Czar or homely freeman. Rhode Island, once an almost pure democracy administered by a social aristocracy, had a constitutional revolution and a rebellion verging upon bloodshed in 1842. In the discussions of the times, a fiery suffrage orator would often exclaim, “if sovereignty don’t reside in the people, where the —— does it reside?” So complex was a representative government to an ignorant freeman.

We may hope that absolute power—as a working force—has ceased to be in civilized States. The people are sovereign, but we reach the people not through persons exercising personal rights, but through institutions embodying the rights of all. Individual wills are subject to the great two-fold will of the people. A mass may vote an absolute decree. Before it can be executed, through the many checks and balances of the State, the corrective judgment of the whole comes to regulate the will even of

¹ It has been well said of the limitations of sovereignty in England . . . “the people may do what they like with their own. But no such doctrines are known to English law. In that noble system the law of political conditions spontaneously finds its appropriate place. . . . Every power and every privilege, to whomsoever it belongs, is given by the law, is exercised in conformity with the law, and by the law may be either extended or extinguished.”—Hearn, *The Government of England*, p. 3.

the larger part of the great voting mass. When the whole State has acted through these time-hallowed organs, we have the strange but delightful paradox of a people obeying itself, without the absolute power of ruling itself.

A mystic essence, hard to define, has gathered about the phrase, "sovereignty of the people." Patriots and demagogues alike have used it, to urge the purpose of the moment. This is no defined principle, it is a popular fetich, which does not concern us. To get at sovereignty—as it actually works in constitutional States—we must consider representation in our land.

Representation gives to electors in the community the right directly "to depute persons in whom they have confidence and trust, to represent them in a legislative body, and to give in advance their sanction to the laws they may enact."¹ Custom and long habits of definition have influenced our minds so thoroughly that we almost invariably treat the constitution of society as either aristocratic or democratic in a political sense. This political signification does not apply to American experience, and we must get rid of it. "The politics of democracy considers the equality of men the fundamental law of nature, the supreme law of the State. The politics of aristocracy, on the contrary, finds the basis of all political order in the natural differences between men."

This fine explanation might satisfy a Greek or French mind; it would not explain or comprehend the colonial experience I have described, or we may add, the present experience of a western territory or State. The citizen of an English colony or of the United States went to his political task, partly natural, as the French would say, and partly the creature of the chain of circumstances engaging him. In other words, person and institution combined in the act of that freeman and representative who votes in the

¹ Lewis, *Use and Abuse of Political Terms.* pp. 128-142.

first movement toward erecting a State. For example, an indentured servant comes over in a colonial vessel, perhaps bound for his passage money. In a very short time, this figuratively equal, but politically unfree creature, acquired land and voted alongside Winthrop in Massachusetts or Lord Fairfax in Virginia. It is nonsense to say that any natural equality or natural difference affected this man politically, in one way or another. The individual man had a new opportunity in the new countries, which were being distributed, not according to feudal service or ecclesiastical obligation, but on a new basis and by a political system. He seized this opportunity to become a citizen. Aristocratic difference and democratic freedom met in the person and in the political action of this American landholder. Land and its contingent institutions afford the most striking illustrations of this evolution, but the same social principles prevail throughout American society.

The citizens—having been elected or selected, as it were, from the existing society—the technical electorate proceed to constitute the higher organs of government; the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. The legislature chiefly concerns us at this moment. It is essentially a higher assembly than the old folk-mote or any assembly of the Germanic races. The representation embodied in the electorate, clothes its members with a dignity derived from the whole body of the people. The process of representation might vary and be locally different. Towns and counties, large and small States, must give different models and forms of representation, but they all work from similar principles and achieve homogeneous results. All the forms include and exemplify the following principles:

- I. Representation is based on persons.
- II. Representation is based on a majority.
- III. Representation makes a majority effective, rather through qualitative than quantitative action.

The power of principles and not the mere weight of members controls the State.

I.

The suffrage and the representation of the voter here has potentially rested on persons from the beginning. The principle holds, though occasional facts varied from this standard. Massachusetts had a partial ecclesiastical representation, as we have seen. South Carolina had a complicated method of increasing every ten years the proportional representation of her wealthy southern districts, as against the more populous northern districts, by allowing more members in consequence of more taxes paid; the relative increase becoming the virtual representation of a community and not the direct representation of property. The Charter government of Rhode Island restricted suffrage to freeholders and their eldest sons. Again, the compromise representation of slaves under the constitution was a partial recognition of property, or of a class of citizens based on property. All these variations were abnormal, and they were gradually rubbed out by the political attrition of the changing time. The representation of the Mormons in Congress—as Mormons, not as citizens—was a virtual failure. It is easy to predict that no recognition of classes or guilds, of vested interests, of social or religious associations, of specialists in any kind—farmers, merchants, manufacturers, laborers, preachers, teachers;—that no recognition of any special classification of citizens will ever be made by the United States. The American franchise is a consolidating force, and it is likewise a dissolving force of great power.

It might be said that senates are an exception to this direct representation of individual persons. This is more apparent than real. In form, senates—State or congressional—are not popular organs of government; but they

are not anti-popular. They are rather the highest evolution of the system, by which town, county, city, State, by which all these organs modulate the action of the citizen. They naturally and properly represent the grand political thought, the deeper consciousness of the whole people. They are not a guild or corporation outside the popular organs; they are rather an amalgamating centre which thus far has transmuted the soberest convictions of the people into well measured political action. Their remarkable success in the past should indicate and direct their necessary course for the future.

II.

The representation by persons, the bringing of the largest number into the representative action of the whole people, necessarily carried with it the working superiority of a majority; when practically all were represented, then the larger part of that all must prevail. Though party government has not developed in the same form as in Europe, the American representation has constantly tended toward two great parties of voters. This large separation soon surpassed all minor differences. A third political party never lasted long; it either became a majority or it was absorbed by a larger principle.

This was not an accidental tendency, but a legitimate development. Our intense local administration of affairs might have descended into narrow particularism, if the larger national force had not prevailed and had not been generally prevailing over the many and narrow parts. This larger political consciousness even enforced an unconscious respect for the minority, in the action of the majority itself. The majority could not proceed, as if it were the whole, and as if the lesser part did not exist. To illustrate this subtle influence of a minority, we may remember the power of the anti-slavery voters prior to 1860.

III.

It is impossible to comprehend or elucidate the actual

operation of a majority in America without our third proposition. When we consider what the mass of the American people have done in some two centuries and a half; that they have subdued a continent, and in the process have sent back to Europe enough new political ideas to fairly balance the receipt of old social ideas from the elder people,—it is worth inquiry, what has been this political process? Mark you, it has been the great mass of average persons—Mr. Lincoln's plain people—who have done this work. How were they organized to do it? Moreover, as the power of a majority is increasing in all countries, as larger and larger bodies of voting people are coming to act on public affairs, the query, how will they act, becomes more important. Sismondi said, "perhaps the greatest difficulty in politics is to make the people worthily elect its representatives."

As I have tried to show, our forefathers evinced great sagacity in the art of government when they perceived—intuitively, if not consciously—that the greater and less involve quality as well as quantity. While our representation is based on persons, there are many factors entering into the political action of those persons. Property, condition, education—the immediate active condition, what may be called the momentum of each voter—enter into a political movement, and all these influences inevitably work in a qualitative way. A few perceive a strong and major political principle; their conception penetrates wider circles and affects larger numbers, the conception enlarging as it goes. For example, a very small number, in 1789, perceived that federalism must become union, and a union wielding the force of an empire. I have alluded to the course of anti-slavery; civil service reform likewise has affected politics through its quality, and through a small number of advocates.

This is a well defined drift and bent of modern democracy, and a leading reason for its success in changing the political characteristics of various nations. It is not by any new

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rendering of the dogma of equality, but by better assimilation of the mass in a large number to the best purpose of the most enlightened, that democratic government works well. France has strengthened her government by more effective representation of her people as a whole. Her monarchical, imperial and radical parts have been ground together in a republican mill; while the result is not ideal, it has enlarged the scope of representative government.

In the final working of an American majority mere numbers affect the effective result comparatively little. It is the sympathetic action of the great mass, not its crushing weight, which gives political momentum to the last great factor, the majority; numbers convey this force, as iron rails carry the locomotive, but there is no essential force in the rails to urge forward the train. The qualitative power of the voter enables him to impress himself on the mass of men, to institute his voting will as an organic part of the machinery of government. This appears in all the forms for guarding the rights of minorities. All important organic measures require two-thirds to three-quarters of the votes—and generally more than one trial—before they prevail as laws. A majority of 65 per cent. is just as much neutralized as a minority of 49 per cent. is nullified in ordinary legislation. In the casting vote of a president or chairman, the vote thus brought in becomes qualitative and is much stronger than any other vote in the body.

The qualitative power in representation involves large consequences. The power of the State, the force of the whole community is exerted through the settled functions of the government. The course of action, after being established by a clear majority, is instituted in a legislature, an executive and a judiciary. A definite political desire, working through the mass of the people, becomes a creature of the State and is administered with its whole power. As said above, whether it be expressed in the proportion of 65 per cent. or 49 per cent., the majority and minority are

both cared for. This is the power of the people moving outward, through and according with the organs of government. It is the same process as that of the old dogma of the divine right of kings, which on the contrary moved outward and downward through the people. Consider the political action of slavery from 1820 to 1860. It had a large political advantage; though a minority in numbers; it moved legislature, executive and judiciary at its will until 1861. Had the issues been all political, it may be reasonably supposed that slavery would have finally converted the whole United States. Its moral defects, and especially its relative economic weakness when it moved masters with slaves in opposition to a homogeneous mass of freemen, in settling new territories; these defects developed political weakness, insurrection and rebellion.

A fine illustration of this qualitative influence in affairs, through the inevitable action of the solid parts of government—and one developed by the American people—is afforded by the United States Supreme Court. Here five or forty cases may be decided by five or forty courts, and then all may be reversed at Washington. Hundreds of lawyers and judges below work toward a certain end; then that end may be reversed by five out of nine men. These men are known to be not inspired; the courts especially repudiate all forces lying outside the reason. Yet numbers implicitly yield opinions, property or vested privilege to this institution, which is larger through its quality. Equally remarkable, in another direction, was the political power of the emancipation proclamation in 1863. A comparatively small minority believed in it when the executive put it forth. If the issue had been popular, a majority would have voted it down, probably. The State supported this deliberate act of the executive, resting on a minority in numbers, until the people were changed into a friendly majority, by the qualitative power of the measure and the action of the government.

These are deep principles and root-ideas in popular government. We began their elucidation among the weak communities and in the wilds of Massachusetts Bay, Connecticut and Rhode Island. It would be interesting to inquire how Teutons and English acquired them so readily, how Romans and Greeks never practised and apparently never perceived them.

Professor William Dwight Whitney, of Yale University, died at his residence in New Haven June 7, 1894. He was born in Northampton, Massachusetts, February 9, 1827, graduated at Williams College in 1845, and after spending three years in the Northampton Bank, of which his father was the president, went to Yale University to pursue studies in the Oriental languages.

A department of instruction for college graduates had been established at Yale in the closing years of the first half of the century, and Mr. Whitney was a member of one of the earliest classes. Arabic and Sanskrit were taught by Professor Edward Elbridge Salisbury, LL.D., the pioneer in introducing the study of Oriental languages into American Universities, and his first class consisted of the late Professor James Hadley, LL.D., and Mr. Whitney.

A year later Mr. Whitney went abroad, where he spent three semesters at Berlin and two at Tübingen. While at the latter University, he undertook, in collaboration with Professor Roth, with whom he had been pursuing his studies in Sanskrit, the preparation of an edition of the *Atharva-Veda*. This work involved the collation of manuscripts in various European libraries, and he spent some time, for this purpose, in those of the Universities of Paris and Oxford, and in the British Museum. It was published in Germany in 1855 and 1856. Meanwhile, he had made valuable contributions to philology, by papers appearing in

the *Bibliotheca Sacra* (1849 and 1850), Weber's *Indische Studien* (1852), and the Journals of the American Oriental Society (Vols. III., IV., and V.). In 1853, while still abroad, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit at Yale, the chair having been founded for him by his first instructor, Professor Salisbury; and he entered upon his duties in the following year. This, it is believed, was the first University Professorship (as distinguished from one appertaining to a college or preparatory school) which was established in the United States. He also gave instruction for many years in modern languages in Yale College, and in the Sheffield Scientific School. In 1870, his Professorship was made one of Sanskrit and Comparative Philology, and lectures on the latter subject were given in Yale College, until failing health, in 1886, compelled him to confine his instruction to graduate classes.

In 1855, he was made Librarian of the American Oriental Society, and subsequently became its Corresponding Secretary and President. In 1861, he received the degree of Ph.D. from the University of Breslau; in 1868, that of LL.D. from Williams; in 1874, that of J.U.D. from the University of St. Andrews; and in 1887, that of L.H.D. from Columbia. He also received the degree of LL.D. from William and Mary, Harvard, and Edinburgh. He was a member of the National Academy of Science; an honorary or corresponding member of the Asiatic Societies of Great Britain and Ireland, Germany, Bengal, and Japan; of the Academies of Berlin, Dublin, St. Petersburg, Rome, and Turin; and of the Institute of France; and a Knight of the Prussian Order of Merit, to which he was admitted as the successor of Thomas Carlyle, upon the death of the latter.

Professor Whitney gave to the American Oriental Society, from his first official connection with it, in 1855, until his death, most faithful and loving service. In several of its published Journals, the contents are mainly from his

pen, and he spared no pains in editing and preparing for publication the contributions of others.

Professor Whitney was the author, during forty-five years, of 144 different publications which may be said to be of permanent value, besides many occasional letters and articles in the periodical press. Among his principal works, following the edition of the Atharva-Veda, already mentioned, was a translation with notes of the Sûrya-Siddhânta, a text-book of Hindu Astronomy (1860), and of the Atharva-Veda-Prātiçākhyā (1862); Language and the Study of Language (1867), which has been translated into German and Netherlandish; a German Grammar (1869); a German Reader (1870); a translation with notes of the Tāittiriya-Prātiçākhyā with its commentary (1871); Oriental and Linguistic Studies, 1st series (1873), 2d series (1874); the Life and Growth of Language (1875), which has been translated into German, French, Italian, Netherlandish, and Swedish; Essentials of English Grammar (1877); a Sanskrit Grammar (Leipsic, 1879), which has been translated into German, and has gone through two editions, the second in 1889; an *Index Verborum* to the Atharva-Veda (1881); and a French Grammar (1886.)

He was the author of important titles in the Encyclopædia Britannica, Appleton's New American Cyclopædia, and Johnson's New Universal Cyclopædia; a leading contributor to the great Sanskrit Lexicon published at St. Petersburg (1852-1875); and the editor in-chief of the Century Dictionary. To the magazines of this country he was a not infrequent contributor, particularly to the *New Englander*, *Bibliotheca Sacra*, *Princeton Review*, and *North American Review*, and occasional articles from his pen appeared in the Transactions of foreign societies.

He was the first President of the American Philological Association, and a frequent contributor to its publications.

Professor Whitney was one of those rare scholars in whom profound learning is graced by the faculty of clear

expression. He was not only a master in his department of research, but a true teacher of men. Whatever he knew, he knew so thoroughly and clearly, that it was a simple matter to impart it to others in simple words. He felt that science was useful to mankind in proportion to the power to make ready application of it to common use. No other man in America, probably, has ever done so much to popularize the study of language on broad lines, and bring the best results of critical researches within the reach of all, in a simple and attractive form.

In his habits of study and literary production, he was exact, methodical, punctual, and painstaking. No slovenly work ever went from his hand, and none came under his eye for criticism, which passed unchallenged. Superficiality in anything or anybody was his abhorrence. Controversy was distasteful to him, and he seldom engaged in it, but when he felt called upon to denounce false standards of scientific doctrine, he spoke with no uncertain sound, and could bring sarcasm as well as scholarship into play.

Besides the studies to which his life was mainly devoted, Professor Whitney paid much attention to the sciences of ornithology, astronomy, and geology. A large case in the Peabody Museum at Yale is filled with specimens of the birds of New England, shot and stuffed by his own hand. The notes and illustrations to his translation of the *Sûrya-Siddhānta*, an extended astronomical treatise, evince a familiarity with the subject as viewed both from an ancient and a modern standpoint; and his geological studies, commenced in his boyhood in the library of his older brother, Professor Josiah Dwight Whitney, LL.D., of Harvard University, were afterwards prosecuted in the field, as a member of two United States Geological Surveys, one, that of the Lake Superior Land District, into which he entered before assuming his Professorship at Yale, and another, many years later, in Colorado. He was a great lover of music, also, and took an active

part in promoting its general cultivation in New Haven.

In the relations of private life Professor Whitney endeared himself to all who came within the circle of his acquaintance. He was always unassuming, considerate, thoughtful for others, entering warmly into whatever interested those around him, and ready to assist them in any direction in which he could be of service. Few have had closer personal friendships, or deserved them better.

Professor Whitney was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society in April, 1868. S. E. B.

Grindall Reynolds, D.D., died in Concord, Mass., September 30, 1894. He was born in Franconia, New Hampshire, December 22, 1822. He was of a Massachusetts family which had been eminent for the qualities of good citizenship from the time of the earliest settlement. He was descended from the family of Archbishop Grindall. His father, Grindall Reynolds, was born at Bristol, Rhode Island, October 12, 1755. He was a Revolutionary soldier, and served as private, ensign, lieutenant and captain. Dr. Reynolds's mother was Cynthia Kendall, born in Fitzwilliam, New Hampshire, April 13, 1795. She was his father's third wife. They were married at Landaff, New Hampshire, August 9, 1820.

Dr. Reynolds was married to Lucy Maria Dodge, at Boston, February 7, 1848. She was the daughter of Nathaniel Putnam Dodge, born in Andover, Vermont, March 20, 1802, and of Lucy Gilmore, born in Weston, Vermont, June 22, 1807. The wife of Dr. Reynolds was born in Andover, Vermont, September, 15, 1827. They had three children, all born in Jamaica Plain, West Roxbury, namely: Edward G., born April 3, 1850; Lucy G., born April 26, 1852; and Alice, born March 26, 1856. They all survived their father. Lucy G. married Charles S. Richardson, at Concord, Mass., in April, 1880. Alice married Prescott Keyes, at Concord, Mass., July 6,

1881. Dr. Reynolds's brother, Henry Russell, was born in Boston, April 1, 1830. His sister, Cynthia Kendall, was born in Franconia, New Hampshire, May 12, 1821. Mrs. Reynolds died February 18, 1887.

Dr. Reynolds was elected a member of the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1885, and contributed to our Proceedings of October, 1887, a paper entitled "King Philip's War, with Special Reference to the Attack on Brookfield in August, 1675." Harvard University conferred upon him the honorary degree of A.M., in 1860, and in 1894, the honorary degree of D.D. In conferring the degree, President Eliot said:—

In rebus divinis oratorem eloquentem, administratorem prudentem, ab Unitariis rationibus optime præpositum.

Dr. Reynolds was sent to the district school in Franconia, New Hampshire, where his father had charge of some large iron works, at the age of four years. The school-house was one of the plainest of the New England school-houses, and Dr. Reynolds describes it, as he remembered it, as "rude in construction, its desks as primitive and hacked, its seats as hard, and the discipline within it as harsh and unreasonable, as any that historians have described or romancers painted." When he was five years old, the family moved to Boston. He attended the primary school at the corner of Federal and High streets, until he was seven years old, when he was promoted to the Washington Grammar School. He was graduated there at the age of twelve, receiving a Franklin medal. He then became a pupil in the English High School, where he was under the instruction of Thomas Sherwin. He was graduated at the High School at the age of fifteen and one-half years, again receiving a Franklin medal. He entered the wholesale dry goods store of Thomas Tarbell & Co., passing through all the grades from errand boy to book-keeper, until in March, 1843, he determined to become a minister. He studied a year and a half under the direction of Rev.

Chandler Robbins, entered the Cambridge Divinity School in September, 1844, and was graduated in June, 1847.

He was ordained as pastor of the Unitarian Church at Jamaica Plain, in January, 1848. He stayed there ten years, then accepted a call to be minister of the First Parish at Concord. He was installed as minister in Concord, Mass., in July, 1858, and remained pastor of that Church until his death, twenty-three years as active pastor, and afterward as honorary pastor, with his colleague, the Rev. Benjamin L. Bulkeley. In May, 1881, he was elected Secretary of the American Unitarian Association, and held that office until his death. He furnished many articles for denominational magazines, and others for the *Atlantic Monthly*, and has published several pamphlets. Among these are—

A DISCOURSE PREACHED ON THE DEATH OF ZACHARY TAYLOR, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT JAMAICA PLAIN, JULY 21, 1850.

DISCOURSE PREACHED ON LEAVING THE OLD MEETING-HOUSE AT JAMAICA PLAIN, WEST ROXBURY, MASSACHUSETTS, MARCH 20, 1853.

THE STORY OF A CONCORD FARM AND ITS OWNERS. February 1, 1883.

KING PHILIP'S WAR, WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ATTACK ON BROOKFIELD IN AUGUST, 1675. October 21, 1887.

GRINDALL REYNOLDS; a biographical sketch of his father, in *An Account of the Seventy-first Anniversary of the Providence Association of Mechanics and Manufacturers.* 1860.

BALTIMORE SERMON. October 29, 1893.

CONCORD; in *Drake's History of Middlesex County.* 1880.

SERMON IN COMMEMORATION OF APRIL 19TH, 1775. 1875.

COL. GEORGE L. PRESCOTT; *Boston Daily Advertiser*, July 18, 1864. Also privately printed.

THE MORAL OFFICE OF THE TEACHER. 1855.

JOHN CALVIN. *Christian Examiner*, July, 1860.

ENGLISH NAVAL POWER AND ENGLISH COLONIES. *Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1863.

THE FRENCH STRUGGLE FOR NAVAL AND COLONIAL POWER. *Atlantic*, 1863.
MEXICO. *Atlantic*, July, 1864.

A FORTNIGHT WITH THE SANITARY. *Atlantic*, February, 1864.

SAINTS WHO HAVE HAD BODIES. *Atlantic*, October, 1865.

THE LATE INSURRECTION IN JAMAICA. *Atlantic*, April, 1866.

BORNEO AND RAJAH BROOKE. *Atlantic*, December, 1866.

ABYSSINIA AND KING THEODORE. *Atlantic*, June, 1868.

THE RATIONALE OF PRAYER. A sermon. *Monthly Religious Magazine*, July, 1848.

PARISH ORGANIZATION. *Monthly Religious Magazine*, July, 1867.

SIEGE AND EVACUATION OF BOSTON. *Unitarian Review*, March, 1876.

OUR BEDOUINS; WHAT CAN WE DO WITH THEM? *Unitarian Review*, August, 1877.

FROM TICONDEROGA TO SARATOGA. *Unitarian Review*, November, 1877.

THE NEW RELIGION. *Unitarian Review*, August, 1879.

ECCLESIASTICAL AND DENOMINATIONAL TENDENCIES. *Unitarian Review*, May, 1889.

Dr. Reynolds was a man of inflexible honesty, absolute sincerity in speech and behavior, simple, modest, unpretending and affectionate. He was fond of society, and was a welcome companion everywhere, whether among the simplest people, or in the company of scholars and persons of high social rank and large distinction. He had a great fondness for New England history, and the annals of the social life of our country towns. When he went to Concord, he entered zealously into the affairs of the town as if he had been a native. He soon became the trusted and confident friend of nearly every family in the town, and in that way became acquainted with its history and traditions, so that he probably knew more about the town than any other person, although there are many families there who have dwelt on the lands where they now live since the town was settled by Bulkeley, Willard, Hosmer and their companions in 1635.

Dr. Reynolds was a man of great business capacity. He managed the concerns of the American Unitarian Association with singular wisdom, discretion and success. He was a pillar in the town and a pillar in the Church. When he died it seemed as if something substantial and essential had been subtracted from the support of both. He inspired the absolute confidence, not only of his own denomination, but of other religious bodies, as well as of the secular press, which has paid many earnest and just tributes to his memory. The main work of his life was devoted to his profession and his denomination. But he had a rare aptness for historical investigation, and an admirable English style, which would have fitted him to write history, if, in his busy life, he could have found space for that employment. His

papers on Wheeler's Expedition to Brookfield, and the Story of a Concord Farm, led this Society to hope that as, in his advancing years, he should withdraw himself from the activities of his profession he would become exceedingly valuable to our membership. A great store of the local traditions and history of the town of Concord must have perished with him.

He was the official representative of his denomination. He cared little for discussing questions about which Christians differ, although he was fully equipped for such discussions when his duty seemed to him to require them. But he stated with great power and with great beauty the arguments which lie at the foundation of the Christian faith, and at the foundation of good morals and purity and uprightness in personal conduct. Some of his sermons deserve to be preserved, and to take a high place in religious literature.

G. F. H.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER.

THE Treasurer of the American Antiquarian Society herewith submits his semi-annual report of receipts and disbursements for the six months ending October 1, 1894.

The Publishing Fund shows an increase, but the cost of printing the last number of the "Proceedings" which will soon be paid, will leave the fund about the same as shown by the last report.

From the income received on the investments the past six months, and about \$300 taken from the reserve income, the usual dividend of three per cent. has been carried to the several Funds.

A detailed statement of the investments is given as a part of this report, showing the par and market value of the various stocks and bonds.

The reserved "Income Fund" now amounts to \$511.30.

The total of the investments and cash on hand October 1, 1894, was \$118,168.25. It is divided among the several funds as follows :

The Librarian's and General Fund,.....	\$39,091.68
The Collection and Research Fund,.....	18,798.40
The Bookbinding Fund,.....	5,994.06
The Publishing Fund,	25,052.58
The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund,.....	7,930.16
The Lincoln Legacy Fund,	3,829.48
The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund,.....	1,072.20
The Salisbury Building Fund,	5,289.98
The Alden Fund,	1,067.29
The Tenney Fund,	5,000.00
The Haven Fund,	1,098.71
The George Chandler Fund,.....	511.45
The Francis H. Dewey Fund,	2,664.63
Premium Account,.....	256.33
Income Account,.....	511.30
	<hr/>
	\$118,168.25

The cash on hand, included in the following statement, is \$10,996.46.

The Finance Committee are expecting to invest the most of this amount at an early day.

The detailed statement of the receipts and disbursements for the past six months, ending October 1, 1894, is as follows :

DR.

1894.	April 1.	Balance of cash as per last report,.....	\$1,657.59
"	Oct. 1.	Received for interest to date,.....	8,003.66
"	"	Received for annual assessments,.....	180.00
"	"	Received from sale of books and pamphlets,	41.00
"	"	Mortgage note paid,.....	7,500.00
"	"	From Webster National Bank, stock (reduction of capital),.....	1,100.00
"	"	From S. Salisbury, \$50, G. F. Hoar and E. L. Davis, \$25 each for Stevens fac-similes,	100.00
			<u>\$13,582.25</u>

CR.

By salaries to October 1, 1894,	\$1,792.08
Books purchased,	124.76
For binding,	63.50
Incidental expenses (including coal),	855.14
Repairs on building,.....	108.31
Insurance,	42.00
For Stevens fac-similes,	100.00
	<u>\$2,585.79</u>
Balance in cash October 1, 1894,	10,996.46
	<u><u>\$13,582.25</u></u>

CONDITION OF THE SEVERAL FUNDS.

The Librarian's and General Fund.

Balance of Fund, April 1, 1894,	\$39,137.68
Income to October 1, 1894,.....	1,174.88
Transferred from Tenney Fund,	150.00
	<u>\$40,462.56</u>
Paid for salaries,	\$1,003.68
Incidental expenses,.....	367.20
	<u>\$1,370.88</u>
1894, October 1. Amount of Fund,.....	\$39,091.68

The Collection and Research Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$18,838.72	
Income to October 1, 1894,	572.66	
	<hr/>	
	\$19,411.38	
Expenditure from the Fund for salaries and incidentals, ..	612.98	
	<hr/>	
1894, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$18,798.40

The Bookbinding Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$5,945.85	
Income to October 1, 1894,	178.38	
	<hr/>	
	\$6,124.23	
Paid for binding, etc.,	\$63.50	
Paid for salaries,	66.67	
	<hr/>	
	\$130.17	
1894, October 1. Amount of Fund,		\$5,994.06

The Publishing Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$24,200.37	
Income to October 1, 1894,	728.71	
Publications sold,	33.50	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,		\$25,052.58

The Isaac and Edward L. Davis Book Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$7,738.31	
Income to October 1, 1894,	232.15	
	<hr/>	
	\$7,970.46	
For books purchased,	40.30	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,		\$7,930.16

The Lincoln Legacy Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$3,717.94	
Income to October 1, 1894,	111.54	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,		\$3,829.48

The Benj. F. Thomas Local History Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$1,045.78	
Income to October 1, 1894,	31.37	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,077.15	
Paid for books,	4.95	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,		\$1,072.20

The Salisbury Building Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,.....	\$5,241.08	
Income to October 1, 1894,.....	157.23	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,398.29	
Paid on account of repairs,	108.81	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,		\$5,289.98

The Alden Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,.....	\$1,191.54	
Income to October 1, 1894,.....	85.75	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,227.29	
Paid on account of cataloguing,.....	160.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,.....		\$1,067.29

The Tenney Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$5,000.00	
Income to October 1, 1894,.....	150.00	
	<hr/>	
	\$5,150.00	
Transferred to Librarian's and General Fund,.....	150.00	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,.....		\$5,000.00

The Haven Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,.....	\$1,128.21	
Income to October 1, 1894,.....	33.70	
	<hr/>	
	\$1,156.91	
Paid for books,.....	58.20	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,		\$1,098.71

The George Chandler Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,.....	\$496.55	
Income to October 1, 1894,.....	14.90	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,		\$511.45

The Francis H. Dewey Fund.

Balance April 1, 1894,	\$2,587.03	
Income to October 1, 1894,.....	77.60	
	<hr/>	
Balance October 1, 1894,.....		\$2,664.63
	<hr/>	
Total of the thirteen funds,.....		\$117,400.62
Balance to the credit of Premium Account,		256.33
Balance to the credit of Income Account,		511.30
	<hr/>	
October 1, 1894, total,.....		\$118,168.25

STATEMENT OF THE INVESTMENTS.

No. of Shares.	STOCKS.	Par Value.	Market Value.
6	Central National Bank, Worcester,	\$ 600.00	\$ 888.00
22	City National Bank, Worcester,	2,200.00	3,234.00
10	Citizens National Bank, Worcester,	1,000.00	1,340.00
4	Boston National Bank,	400.00	371.00
6	Fitchburg National Bank,	600.00	900.00
5	Massachusetts National Bank, Boston,	500.00	500.00
32	National Bank of Commerce, Boston,	3,200.00	3,808.00
6	National Bank of North America, Boston,	600.00	720.00
5	North National Bank, Boston,	500.00	565.00
24	Quinsigamond National Bank, Worcester,	2,400.00	2,904.00
46	Shawmut National Bank, Boston,	4,600.00	5,290.00
22	Webster National Bank, Boston,	2,200.00	1,980.00
31	Worcester National Bank,	3,100.00	4,588.00
Total of Bank Stock,		\$21,900.00	\$27,088.00
30	Northern (N. H.) R. R. Co.,	\$3,000.00	\$4,590.00
5	Worcester Gas Light Co.,	500.00	790.00
25	West End St. Railway Co. (Pfd.),	1,250.00	2,075.00
BONDS.			
	Central Pacific R. R. Bonds,	3,000.00	3,112.00
	Kansas City, Fort Scott & Gulf R. R.,	3,300.00	3,660.00
	Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fé R. R. Co.,	3,000.00	2,310.00
	Chicago & Eastern Illinois R. R. 5 per cent.,	5,000.00	5,050.00
	City of Quincy Water Bonds,	4,000.00	4,000.00
	Congress Hotel Bonds, Chicago,	5,000.00	5,000.00
	Lowell, Lawrence & Haverhill St. Railway Co.,	5,400.00	5,520.00
	Notes secured by mortgage of real estate,	51,450.00	51,450.00
	Deposited in Worcester savings banks,	371.79	371.79
	Cash in National Bank on interest,	10,996.46	10,996.46
		\$118,168.25	\$126,013.25

WORCESTER, Mass., October 1, 1894.

Respectfully submitted,

NATH'L PAINE,
Treasurer.

The undersigned, Auditors of the American Antiquarian Society, hereby certify that we have examined the report of the Treasurer, made up to October 1, 1894, and find the same to be correct and properly vouched; that the securities held by him are as stated, and that the balance of cash, as stated to be on hand, is satisfactorily accounted for.

WM. A. SMITH.
A. G. BULLOCK.

October 20, 1894.

REPORT OF THE LIBRARIAN.

A RECENT examination of our founder's copy of the first edition of Eliot's Indian Bible, disclosed the fact that the text thereof is incomplete. It lacks from Mark, chapter XI., verse 9, to Luke, chapter I., verse 16, inclusive; *i. e.*, Mark, Chapter XI., verses 9 to 33 inclusive; Chapters XII., XIII., XIV., XV., XVI., entire, and Luke, Chapter I., verses 1 to 16 inclusive. At the top of the page immediately following the break, there appears in a handwriting not unlike that of Isaiah Thomas: "The binder has left out a sheet." I find no other mention of the imperfection. Upon the fly-leaf opposite the Thomas book-plate appears, written in an unknown hand: "This is the first edition of a very scarce and curious book. *The whole translation says Dr. C. Mather, was wrote with but one pen.* The N. Test. was published first., viz., 1661. The bible was again printed, a little while after Mr. Eliot's death, with the corrections of Mr. Cotton of Plymouth, Camb., 1685." Above this misleading entry—for we know that Eliot did not die until May 20, 1690,—Thomas has written,—first noting the value of his Bible as [4.00]—"Translated by the Rev'd John Eliott of Roxbury." After adding "t" to the article "a" and drawing his pen through the words "from little to Plymouth" inclusive, he added: "The Old Testament, was Three Years in the Press." At the foot of the last page of the Old Testament, Mr. Thomas has written, "The property of Isaiah Thomas, of Boston and Worcester, Printer. 1791." Four years later the following letter—

now in our possession — was addressed to Mr. Thomas Wallcut, Boston :—

“NANTUCKET October 31st 1795

Dear Sir

I have the pleasure of sending you by Capt Alexander Gardner a part of two Bibles in the Indian language I found a part of 4 in the possession of Mr. Zacheus Macy but by reason of the shattered Condition they were in I could not come nearer the Contents of one whole Bible than to send 2 and believe there is only 1 chapter & 20 verses missing.

From Sir yours to serve—

WALTER FOLGER JR.”

Mr. Wallcut's invaluable gift of sixty years ago, was referred to at some length in the librarian's reports of April, 1889, and October, 1890, but no imperfect Eliot Bibles were there reported. It seems probable that Wallcut secured the four imperfect ones, and possible that they may be traced to our advantage in this our special and unexpected time of need. Our second edition of Eliot's Bible was made from two imperfects and then bound by Bedford. A large fragment in duplicate remains for further use. I call special attention to a scrap of paper attached to the Folger letter, endorsed as follows: “This paper I found in a Bible that belonged to the within Named Benjamin Tarshamy who was the last Indian Minister of the Gospel on Nantucket whether it is of Consequence or not I am not able to tell. W. F. Jr.” As this brief paper, written by a Massachusetts Indian one hundred and twenty-five years ago, was also written one hundred years after Eliot's translation of the Bible, it may be useful in the linguistic comparison recently suggested by Rev. Dr. Hale. A copy thereof follows :—

“mantammattoog yeng neessuog Hanre wanoh Mather ahquansh. en wuttohquunnittin - naoud newage howon wosketompahog pittuwatoowonk woh peyan ut anaquabit

wussit dimaenin woh wutta missohamun uttoh aunagk
uppittuwattoowonk
Nantuckid-Abril-15th-1769-

Benjamin
Tarshamy "

The appearance of the Mather name is suggestive, as is also the fact that at least some of the words may be found in the Eliot Bible.

I repeat here the query of a New York correspondent: "Did you ever hear of the existence of a 1733, 1735, or 1739 *Poor Richard Almanack*? The American Philosophical Society was long reputed to have an original 1733 but it proves to be only a reprint. I can find no trace of 1735; and a fragment only of 1739 is in the Ridgway Library." Our library contains a reprint of 1733 and originals of 1734, 1736 and 1737. I also have had the good fortune to discover a perfect copy of 1739 in the Downs Collection of almanacs in the library of the Worcester Society of Antiquity. They have been used to aid "The Duodecimos" in their effort to reproduce and interpret the Poor Richard of 1733, with capital letters, spelling, punctuation and everything else as in Franklin's original imprint. We have a special interest in Franklin, not only as our founder's fellow-printer and fellow-patriot, but as his personal friend. Hence our effort, not only to discover originals, but reproductions of the Almanacs of Poor Richard. I will add that there are at least two undated reprints of the first number—that of 1733—one of which appears to have deceived so good an authority as the late Mr. Joseph Sabin. In his Dictionary of Books relating to America, Volume VII., page 20, he credits the Library Company of Philadelphia with an original, and refers to a reprint in fac-simile as published by "George S. Appleton Philadelphia 1847?" Our reprint of the issue of 1733 bears no modern name or date, is printed from nineteenth-century type, and bears upon the inside of the antique cover, in

the handwriting of Samuel Foster Haven: "From John Downs Esq., May 20, 1851."

The subject of facsimiles has again been brought to my attention by a letter from Illinois dated May 14, 1894, in which are the following paragraphs:

"The late Dr. Poole, Librarian of the Newberry Library, Chicago, referred me last autumn to you for information, and I write this in pursuance. I had then lately come into possession of what appears to be one of the original issue, first number of the *Boston News Letter*. I compared it with an authorized reprint from the one in possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and the correspondence was perfect, both to the naked eye and when examined under a glass. All little imperfections of type, errors in spelling and composition, in mine were exactly reproduced in this photo-copy. Under a glass the perfection of the resemblance was more exact instead of less so. Also under a glass the deeper and lighter shadings showed plainly that the form was inked with the old fashioned balls, not rollers. All the information I can gain from encyclopedias marks it as genuine, and not a reprint. The paper shows great age in color and texture, and has for many years been in the possession of parties, who, if now living, would be nearly or quite 100 years old, valued highly by them as a relic, and handed down by them to one of their sons, who cared for them in their old age, and sold to me by his widow. I will name a few marks which might assist in identification. About the middle of the first column, first page, also top of second page, the word sovereign is spelled *soveraign*; in the last paragraph but one in this first column *perswade*, w instead of u; design, second paragraph, second page, is spelled *disign*—is spelled *de* in the Queen's speech lower down; middle of second column, being *concerning* instead of being *concerned* for the public weal, and *safty* instead of *safety*; lower down, *suspician*, instead of *suspicion*; first column, first page, fifth paragraph, fifth line, *merely* is spelled, *meerly*."

Of the seven orthographical aids to identification submitted by our correspondent, but two appear in the original, viz.: *soveraign* and *meerly*. Nor are these the only

indications of the spurious character of this sheet for which the careful collector has parted with his money. The absence of dashes and italics tells the same story of the counterfeit "*Boston News Letter* Numb. 1."

It is possible that a Counterfeit book, pamphlet, broadside, etc., Detector may become a necessary hand-book for the coming librarian and collector!

The sources of our library accessions for the past six months have been two hundred and eighty-two, viz.: thirty-nine members, one hundred and twenty-eight persons not members, and one hundred and fifteen societies and institutions. We have received therefrom by gift six hundred and thirty-one books, fifty-two hundred and ninety-eight pamphlets, four bound and one hundred and seventy-nine volumes of unbound newspapers, twenty-six broadsides, twenty-two photographs, eighteen book-plates, fifteen daguerreotypes, twelve engravings, five maps, three manuscripts, three bullets, three specimens of continental and confederate currency, and one pack of playing cards. We credit the exchange account with twenty-one books and seventy-nine pamphlets, and the bindery with fifty volumes of magazines; making a total of seven hundred and two books, fifty-three hundred and seventy-seven pamphlets, four bound and one hundred and seventy-nine volumes of unbound newspapers, etc.

I gratefully acknowledge as received from President Salisbury, Vice-President Hoar and Councillor Davis, volumes XV.-XX. of B. F. Stevens's Facsimiles of Manuscripts in European Archives relating to America, 1773-1783. It is expected that the remaining five volumes of the first series will soon be published, with a copious index. It is to be regretted that Mr. Stevens finds that increasing infirmities will prevent his undertaking the second series, which was to consist of military and naval papers, with such documents as relate more particularly to the campaigns and events of the war for independence in America.

It will be remembered that the first series of twenty-five volumes, of 500 pages each, includes the Civil, Confidential, Diplomatic and Political Correspondence and other papers during the American Revolution down to the treaty which acknowledged the independence of the United States; and that the edition of the work is limited to two hundred copies.

We have received with Vice-President Hoar's other gifts, a curious reminder of Mr. Charles H. Firth's interesting memoir of Major-General Thomas Harrison, the Regicide, published in our Proceedings of April, 1893. It is in the form of a pack of Cavalier playing cards, of the time of Charles I., forming a complete political satire of the commonwealth. The original pack, of which this is a facsimile, is in the possession of the Right Hon. Earl Nelson. The publishers are E. and G. Golsmid of Edinburgh. A half-dozen of the inscriptions which appear under the rude illustrations follow:—

“Harrison the Carpenter cutting down y^e horne of y^e Beast in Daniel.”

“Bradsha^m the jaylor, and y^e Hangman keepers of the Liberty of England.”

“S^r. H. Vane finds a distinction betwixt a legal & an Evangelical Conscienc^e.”

“Cromwell, Ireton, and Hudson all in y^e same Boate.”

“The High Court of Justice, or Oliver's Slaughter House.”

“Oliver seeking God while the K is Murthered by his order.”

Hon. Edward L. Davis has presented Audubon and Bachman's Quadrupeds of North America, in six volumes folio. I need only suggest the library as well as the market value of this great work. Hon. Robert C. Winthrop has placed with his many publications upon our shelves, his “Reminiscencés of Foreign Travel. A Fragment of Autobiography.” The Rev. George S. Paine has given a

copy of Johnson's Shakespeare, in eight volumes octavo, London, 1765. There is added value in the autographs of Timothy Paine, and William Paine, M.D., the latter a vice-president and charter member of this Society. Our lamented associate, William D. Whitney, LL.D., sent two of his linguistic brochures to the library shortly before his death. I note Mr. Reuben Colton's gift of his recent account of our newspaper collection. It may be found modestly signed, R. C., in the *Boston Evening Transcript* of Saturday, October 6, 1894.

A letter accompanying the gift of Mr. W. N. Clarke of Hamilton, N. Y., contains the following :

“The enclosed fragment of autograph of Albert Gallatin, came into my possession by chance, in a handful of papers belonging to a friend who had died. When the document of which it forms a part was written, or to whom it was addressed, I do not know ; and I do not know whether it is of any real use or interest whatever. But I am acting on the bare chance that it may be worth noticing, and I know nothing better to do with it than to send it to you. If it should be worthless, at least no harm would be done, and I do not wish to destroy it.”

The manuscript consists of two closely written pages, numbered 9 and 10,—to which we should be glad to add pages 1 to 8 inclusive,—and is in the small hand-writing of Gallatin's later years. A careful examination reveals the fact that it is the conclusion of his letter to Eben Dodge, dated New York, 21st January, 1847, containing an account of the Academy, known to us as the University of Geneva. Brief quotations therefrom may be found in the life of Gallatin, by John Austin Stevens, and the letter itself in volume 2, pp. 638–650, of the writings of Albert Gallatin, in three volumes octavo, Philadelphia, 1879, edited by our associate, Mr. Henry Adams. It should, however, be stated that pages 9½ and 10 of our manuscript do not appear in the letter as printed by Adams, which may be accounted for by the following

closing permissory paragraph, written by Gallatin when about eighty-six years of age :

“There is, perhaps, matter enough for your purpose in what I have written; but it is badly digested and arranged, without the slightest attention to style, bearing ample evidence of my advanced age and infirm health, and wholly unfit for the public eye. Yet I send it to you with all its blots, interlineations and imperfections; for I have not the strength or courage to write it over again. You may make any use of it you please, except that of quoting me as authority. When you have done with it I will thank you to send it back to me, or a copy of it, as will best suit your convenience.”

Gallatin, who was born at Geneva in Switzerland, on the 29th of January, 1761, died at his seat at Astoria, near New York, on the 12th of August, 1849. His “Synopsis of the Indian Tribes within the United States, East of the Rocky Mountains, and in the British and Russian Possessions in North America,” 8° pp. 422, Cambridge, 1836, published in *Archæologia Americana*, volume two, is to-day one of the most important and scholarly of our publications. Dr. Haven, in the Council Report of October, 1849, said of its author: “The services of Albert Gallatin in furnishing the material for one of the Society’s publications, have been peculiar and great. Apart from his exalted merit as a statesman and a scholar, he is here entitled to especial honor as the diligent antiquary, second to none in his zeal for the cause, and, perhaps, superior to all in the extent and importance of his labors.” Rev. Dr. Hale concludes his tribute of the same date as follows: “In his death the country has lost the man most learned in all questions relating to the origin of the language, and the mutual relations of the native tribes. It has lost, at the same time, a statesman whose memory went back over the whole of its history, and whose calm review of the past gave great weight to all his counsels for present political duty.”

There seemed a peculiar fitness in the selection of our long-time Recording Secretary, the Honorable John D. Washburn, as the first Minister Plenipotentiary to the Swiss Republic, which gave to this Society, as well as to our country, so able and devoted a friend as Albert Gallatin.

Mr. Herbert R. Cummings has placed in the library his rare and valuable stenographic collection. It contains sixty-one text-books, some of which it was our privilege to secure for him by purchase or exchange.

Mrs. Alice Morse Earle continues to send us her works immediately upon their publication, and otherwise to acknowledge the service here rendered. In the "Foreword" of her *Costume of Colonial Times* we read: "And to the priceless files of newspapers in that happy home for Antiquaries,—the library of the American Antiquarian Society, at Worcester, Mass.—I owe much of the information contained in these pages. I give to the Society my sincere thanks for their unbounded and cordial generosity and their unvarying courtesy."

A copy of Poole's "*Annotations upon the Bible*," two volumes folio, London, 1700, bears the following inscription:—

"These volumes of the Bible came into my hands in 1827, having been my most honorable grandfather's, Deacon Isaac Davis of Northborough, Massachusetts. I wish them given to the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass. MARTHA DAVIS WELLS."

The following Associated Press despatch, dated New London, Ct., July 21, 1894, deserves a wide circulation, on account of the lesson which it conveys: "The residence of James D. Avery, town clerk of Groton, was burned to the ground last night. The oldest records of the Town, which were stored in the attic of the house, were destroyed. Valuable papers in the safe were saved." I add a para-

graph from a letter addressed to your librarian, June 23, 1894, by Robert T. Swan, Massachusetts Commissioner of Public Records: "You will doubtless remember telling me that an early volume of the church records of Sutton, Mass., had been returned, with fear and trembling, to the church, upon application made to the Society, some time since. Upon my return from Worcester, I wrote the town clerk suggesting that he ask for the records, that they might be placed in his new safe. You will be glad to know that the church committee acted favorably upon the suggestion."

It is a startling commentary upon the carelessness of Nation and State, and the great value of our storehouse of American history as well, that we have quite recently supplied, in manuscript, material which had failed of preservation in print at government headquarters.

There has been placed in the Haven Alcove "The Colonial Furniture of New England, A study of the Domestic Furniture in use in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," by Irving Whitall Lyon, M.D., 4to., Illustrated, Boston, 1892, pp. 285. On page 200 will be found a heliotype reproduction of our John Hancock double chair of the second half of the eighteenth century, and on pages 172 and 173, facts relating thereto. Among our other rare possessions of the Colonial period is the Hancock clock, which will be found referred to in my report of April, 1891. We have also his business high-desk or secretary, with claw feet, secret drawers, etc., and his sideboard, which is apparently of later date than either of the other pieces. The clock is in the office, the double chair in the Salisbury Annex and the desk in the southeast lobby above stairs. On page 31 of an address of the American Antiquarian Society to members, etc., printed at Worcester in March, 1819, under "various articles for the Cabinet since the last publication," is the following entry: "Mrs. Hannah [Mather] Crocker, Boston. Half length likenesses (taken when

living) of Rev. Rich. Mather of Dorchester, Rev. Increase, Cotton and Samuel Mather of Boston; a small chair made in England, in the reign of King James I. for Rich. Mather, afterwards Minister of Dorchester, Mass." The high chair above mentioned, which is marked "brought to America by Richard Mather, grandfather of Cotton Mather, in 1635," was photographed by our associate, Mr. Nathaniel Paine, for heliotype reproduction in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1893. In a foot-note the editor quotes from a manuscript volume of Mrs. Crocker's "Reminiscences and Traditions of Boston," now in the possession of the New England Historic Genealogical Society, as follows: "Mr. Richard Mather was born in Lancaster, in a small village called Lowton, in the year 1596. The family can be traced to John. Thomas was his son, and Richard was son of Thomas. The chair in the Antiquarian Rooms [i. e., the rooms of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Mass.], belonged to Thomas. Richard sat in it when a child. He was married in 1624; his children that were born in Europe, sat in the chair before he came to this country—Samuel, Timothy, Nathaniel, Joseph. The last named sat in it when he brought the chair to America. Eleazer and Increase were born in America. They both sat in the same chair. The chair descended to Increase, and all his children sat in the same. It came in line to Cotton Mather. His children all sat in the same. It descended to his son Samuel, and his children sat in the same chair. His youngest daughter [Hannah, the writer of these notes,] was the only child that had any children sit in the chair, and several grandchildren. As the regular line of Mather has run out, she wished the chair to be deposited in the Antiquarian rooms with the venerable shades, that those who come after her may look to the rock from whence they were hewn, and find an ancient seat to rest any chip of the old block. As she flatters

herself there may, at some future day, a sprig spring from the root Jesse, and the tribe of Levi return to their rest, when she is at rest in another world." We possess three secretaries which were the property of three governors, namely: Jonathan Belcher, James Bowdoin and John Leverett. That of the first named has the plain glazed book-case top; the second is low, with the slanting lid, which lets down, and with no high top; while the third is like the first, except that it has the looking-glass front. The Belcher is in the south lobby above, and contains among other valuables, the manuscript biographical dictionary of Samuel Jennison, formerly Librarian and Treasurer of the Society. The Bowdoin and Leverett are office companions of the modern roll-top desk, bought by Dr. Haven, and left to his successor in office with the words: "I desire you to occupy my desk." The semi-circular sideboard which adorns the east side of the office, the council table in its centre, two chests of drawers—one in the office and one in the south lobby, second floor—and the long sofa in the main hall, appear to be without historic interest. Dr. Haven bought the first two at an auction sale in Worcester, and said there were no known historical associations connected with them. Our chairs, of several antique patterns, are said to have come to us chiefly through the Lincoln and Salisbury homes, though the President's chair bears upon a silver plate the following inscription: "From the | Hampden Mechanic Association. | Springfield Mass. | Made of oak from the Pynchon House — | Called the old Fort—in Springfield Mass. | Erected 1660—taken down 1831." President Salisbury has deposited a much admired Chippendale bookcase—known in library parlance as the Brinley Case—and a sofa of early date and elaborate pattern, both from the home of the late Mr. Waldo Flint. I call your attention to but one other of our rarities in this department. Dr. Lyon says—see his *Colonial Furniture*, etc. Subject, "inlaid slate tables,"

page 204 : “ we have also seen two examples. One of these belongs to the American Antiquarian Society of Worcester, Mass., having been presented in 1847 by the late John Preston of New Ipswich, N. H., with a detailed history of its descent from his ancestor the Rev. Nehemiah Walter who was graduated from Harvard College in 1684. It has four turned legs united near the floor by four turned stretchers. The top, which is octagonal in form, is forty inches long by twenty-five inches wide. The slate, a part of which is missing, is dark in color and a little over an eighth of an inch in thickness. It is also shaped octagonally, and measured when whole a little over twenty-nine inches in length by fourteen and a quarter inches in width. It occupies the central portion of the table, and is surrounded on the same level by an inlaid border of wood three and a half inches in width. There is a drawer under the top which pulls out at the side instead of at the end of the table. Fastened to the drawer is one of its original brasses. It is of the drop variety hollowed out behind, such as has been described as one of the oldest styles found in this country, and which ceased to be put on new work about 1730.”

At the annual meeting forty-two years ago, Edward Everett Hale became an officer of the Society, which he has since served as Recording Secretary, Councillor and Vice-President. For thirty-one years Nathaniel Paine has held the office of Treasurer; and John Davis Washburn for twenty-three years that of Recording Secretary. For twenty-two years J. Hammond Trumbull has been either Councillor or Foreign Corresponding Secretary; and for twenty years Samuel Abbott Green, now senior Councillor, and Stephen Salisbury, now President, have been of our governing Board. It seems worthy of note that one hundred and fifty-eight years of official service have been rendered by these six survivors of the Board elected twenty years ago; an average of more than twenty-six and a half

years for each person. Is it not probable that this continuous service will, in a measure at least, account for the good fellowship, harmony of action and abundant though unheralded success which have followed the Society since its incorporation eighty-two years ago to-day?

Respectfully submitted.

EDMUND M. BARTON,
Librarian.

Givers and Gifts.

FROM MEMBERS.

ALDRICH, Hon. P. EMORY, Worcester.—One hundred and forty-five pamphlets; "The Antiquary," and five files of newspapers, in continuation.

BARTON, EDMUND M., Worcester.—One book; ten pamphlets; three photographs; and St. Andrew's Cross, in continuation.

BAXTER, Hon. JAMES P., Portland, Me.—His "Present Status of Pre-Columbian Discoveries in America by Norsemen."

BRINTON, DANIEL G., LL.D., Philadelphia, Pa.—Three of his brochures.

BROCK, ROBERT A., Richmond, Va.—Newspapers containing historical articles by him.

DAVIS, ANDREW MCF., Cambridge.—His "Corporations in the Days of the Colony."

DAVIS, Hon. EDWARD L., Worcester.—Audubon and Bachman's *Quadrupeds of North America*, text 3 vols., quarto; plates 3 vols., folio; six books; and three framed engravings.

DEXTER, FRANKLIN B., New Haven, Conn.—His "Thomas Clap and his Writings"; and various tributes to Prof. Wm. D. Whitney.

EDES, HENRY H., Charlestown.—"List of College honors conferred in June, 1894."

FIRTH, CHARLES H., *Editor*, Oxford, England.—His "Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, 1625-1672," in two volumes.

FOSTER, WILLIAM E., Providence, R. I.—His *Sixteenth Annual Report as Librarian of the Providence Public Library*; and two pamphlets of early date.

GILMAN, DANIEL C., LL.D., *President*, Baltimore, Md.—*Proceedings of the Trustees of the John F. Slater Fund for the Education of Freedmen, 1894.*

GREEN, Hon. ANDREW H., *President*, New York.—*Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioners of the State Reservation at Niagara.*

GREEN, Hon. SAMUEL A., Boston.—Four of his own publications; thirty-one books; three hundred and thirty-three pamphlets; and the "American Journal of Numismatics," in continuation.

GREEN, SAMUEL S., Worcester.—His *Report as Librarian of the Worcester Free Public Library, 1892-1893.*

- HAMLIN, Rev. CYRUS, D.D.,** Lexington.—His “*My Life and Times*,” second edition.
- HILL, HAMILTON A., LL.D.,** Boston.—His “*Henry Lee, 1782–1867*”; his “*Trade and Commerce of Boston*”; and a cabinet photograph of himself.
- HOADLY, CHARLES J., LL.D.,** Hartford, Conn.—“*Records of the State of Connecticut, 1776–1788*,” edited by Dr. Hoadly; *Histories of the 5th and 20th Conn. Volunteers*; and two proclamations.
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- LOVE, Rev. WM. DELOSS, Ph.D.,** Hartford, Conn.—A Collection of Connecticut Arbor, Fast, Thanksgiving and Special Proclamations.
- MERRIMAN, Rev. DANIEL, D.D.,** Worcester.—Thirty-one pamphlets; and “*The Nation*,” in continuation.
- OBER, FREDERICK A.,** Washington, D. C.—Five pamphlets relating to the Aborigines of the West Indies.
- PAINE, Rev. GEORGE S.,** Worcester.—“*Plays of William Shakespeare, with notes by Sam. Johnson*,” 8 vols., London, 1765; and “*The Spirit of Missions*,” in continuation.
- PAINE, NATHANIEL,** Worcester.—Two books; one hundred and ninety-four pamphlets; four photographs; one map; eighteen book-plates; and three files of newspapers.
- PEET, Rev. STEPHEN D., Ph.D.,** Good Hope, Ill.—His “*American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*,” as issued.
- PERRY, Rt. Rev. WM. STEVENS, D.D.,** Davenport, Iowa.—“*Iowa Churchman*,” as issued.
- PORTER, Rev. EDWARD G.,** Dorchester.—Three bullets found in the old meeting-house at Lincoln, Mass., stored there about the time of the battle at Lexington.
- ROGERS, Gen. HORATIO,** *Commissioner*, Providence, R. I.—“*Early Records of the Town of Providence*,” Vols. V. and VI.
- SAINSBURY, W. NOEL,** *Editor*, London, G. B.—His “*Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1675–1676*.”

SALISBURY, EDWARD E., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—"Two Hundredth Anniversary of Organization of the Old Lyme Congregational Church, 1693-1893."

SALISBURY, Hon. STEPHEN, Worcester.—Twenty-four books; one hundred and forty-four pamphlets; "Art Work of Worcester"; seven files of newspapers, in continuation; six photographs; five maps; and three engravings.

THWAITES, REUBEN G., Madison, Wis.—His "Early Lead-Mining in Illinois and Wisconsin."

TYLER, Rev. MOSES C., LL.D., Ithaca, N. Y.—One pamphlet.

WHITNEY, WILLIAM D., LL.D., New Haven, Conn.—Two of his Oriental brochures.

WINSOR, JUSTIN, LL.D., Cambridge.—"Harvard College Bulletin"; and "Bibliographical Contributions," as issued.

WINTHROP, Hon. ROBERT C., Boston.—His address before the Massachusetts Bible Society, March 19, 1894; and his "Reminiscences of Foreign Travel, a Fragment of Autobiography."

FROM PERSONS NOT MEMBERS.

ALDRICH, EDWARD E., Worcester.—Package of large envelopes for library use.

ANDREWS, CLEMENT W., Boston.—"Books for Boys, recommended by the Channing Club, Boston."

ARCHÆOLOGIST PUBLISHING COMPANY.—Numbers of the "Archæologist."

BARDEEN, C. W., Syracuse, N. Y.—Numbers of his "School Bulletin."

BARTON, E. BLAKE, Worcester.—"Harvard Graduates' Magazine," Vol. 3, No. 9.

BELL, Mrs. JOHN J., Exeter, N. H.—"In Memory of John James Bell, Exeter, N. H."

BOWKER, JOHN B., Worcester.—One book.

BOWNE, JACOB T., Springfield.—Year Book of the Young Men's Christian Associations of North America, 1894.

BROWN, FREEMAN, Clerk, Worcester.—His Annual Report as Clerk of the Board of Overseers of the Poor, 1893.

BULLARD, Miss LOUISA D., Cambridgeport.—Two books of early date.

BURGESS, Rev. FRANCIS G., Worcester.—Eight pamphlets; and "The Spirit of Missions," in continuation.

CARPENTER, Rev. CHARLES C., Andover.—His "Andover Theological Seminary Necrology, 1867-1894,"

CHICKERING, Prof. JOSEPH K., Boston.—Fifty-five pamphlets.

CHEEVER, Rev. HENRY T., D.D., Worcester.—“The Hawaiian Gazette,” in continuation.

CILLEY, Gen. J. P., Fall River.—Numbers of “The Maine Bugle.”

CLARKE, W. N., Hamilton, N. Y.—Manuscript document of Albert Gallatin.

COCHRANE, HARRY H., Monmouth, Me.—Three views of old houses of Monmouth, Maine.

COMMONWEALTH PUBLISHING COMPANY.—“Boston Commonwealth,” as issued.

CONATY, Rev. THOMAS J., D.D., *Editor*, Worcester.—His “Catholic School and Home Magazine,” as issued.

CRANE, ALBERT, Stamford, Conn.—“Henry Crane of Milton, Mass., 1654, and some of his Descendants.”

CRANE, JOHN C., West Millbury.—His “Jonathan Holman, a Revolutionary Colonel.”

CUMMINGS, HERBERT R., Worcester.—Thirty-nine books and twenty-two pamphlets, of stenographic literature.

CUPPY, HAZLITT A., *Editor*, Chicago, Ill.—Numbers of his “Altruistic Review.”

DAVIS, Capt. GEORGE E., Burlington, Vt.—Haynes’s “History of the Tenth Vermont Volunteers,” second edition.

DIAL PRESS COMPANY, Chicago, Ill.—“The Dial,” as issued.

DODGE, JAMES H., *Auditor*, Boston.—His Report, 1893-1894.

DODGE, THOMAS H., Worcester.—“Genealogy of the Dodge Family of Essex County, Mass.”

DOYLE, JAMES J., Worcester.—His “Messenger,” as issued.

DROWNE, HENRY T., New York.—Eighty-eighth Anniversary Celebration of the New England Society in the City of New York.

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EDMANDS, JOHN, Philadelphia, Pa.—His “Historical Sketch of the Congregational Church of Philadelphia.”

ELLIS, ARTHUR B., *Editor*, Boston.—His “Memoir of Rufus Ellis.”

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- HOBBS, WILLIAM H., Ph.D., Madison, Wis.—Two of his geological brochures.
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- KYES AND WOODBURY**, Worcester.—Their "Calendar," as issued.
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- RUSSELL, E. HARLOW, *Principal*, Worcester.—Catalogue and Circular of the Massachusetts State Normal School at Worcester, for 1894.
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W P I, EDITORS OF.—“W P I,” as issued.

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WALKER, Rev. GEORGE L., D.D., Hartford, Conn.—“Diary of Rev. Daniel Wadsworth, Seventh Pastor of the First Church of Christ in Hartford, 1737-1747,” with notes by Dr. Walker, the fourteenth pastor.

WALKER, JOHN B., New York.—Numbers of his “Cosmopolitan.”

WALKER, Hon. JOSEPH H., Worcester.—Three of his Congressional speeches; and twelve public documents.

WALKER, Rev. WILLISTON, Ph.D., Hartford, Conn.—His “History of the Congregational Church in the United States.”

WALL, Miss SARAH E., Worcester.—“Boston Commonwealth,” 1883-84.

WARREN, Rev. WILLIAM F., D.D., Cambridge.—“The Warrens of Williamsburg, Massachusetts.”

WASHBURN, ROBERT M., Worcester.—“Catalogue of the Worcester High School, 1885-86.”

WATCHMAN PUBLISHING COMPANY, Montpelier, Vt.—Their “Vermont Watchman,” as issued.

WEATHERBEE, Mrs. MARY W., Worcester.—Her poem on Sorrow.

WELLS, Mrs. MARTHA DAVIS, ESTATE OF, Northborough.—“Poole's Annotations upon the Holy Bible.” Fourth edition. 2 vols. Folio. London, 1700.

WESBY, JOSEPH S., AND SONS, Worcester.—Twelve books; eleven hundred and forty-two pamphlets; and five files of newspapers.

WHITCOMB, Miss MARY G., Worcester.—Eighteen pamphlets; and one medal.

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WILLIAMS, GEORGE H., Washington, D. C.—His “Johann David Shoepf and his Contributions to North American Geology.”

WOMAN'S PROGRESS COMPANY.—Numbers of “Woman's Progress.”

FROM SOCIETIES AND INSTITUTIONS.

ACADEMY OF NATURAL SCIENCES OF PHILADELPHIA.—Proceedings of the Academy, as issued.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCE OF ST. LOUIS.—Transactions of the Academy, Vol. VI., Nos. 12-17.

AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE.—Association circulars of 1894.

AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSIONARY UNION.—The “Baptist Missionary Magazine,” as issued.

AMERICAN CATHOLIC HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION.—Records of the Society, as issued.

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BIBLIOTECA NAZIONALE CENTRALE DI FIRENZE.—The “Library Bulletin,” as issued.

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BOSTON CITY HOSPITAL TRUSTEES.—Thirtieth Report of the Board of Trustees.

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BOYS’ CLUB OF WORCESTER.—Fifth Annual Report of the Club.

BROOKLYN LIBRARY.—Thirty-sixth Annual Report; and “Library Bulletin,” as issued.

BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Annual Report, January 9, 1894.

BUFFALO LIBRARY.—Fifty-eighth Annual Report.

CAMBRIDGE (ENGLAND) ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—Publications of the Society, as issued.

CANADIAN INSTITUTE.—Transactions of the Institute, as issued.

CHICAGO PUBLIC LIBRARY.—The Twenty-second Annual Report.

CLEVELAND PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Numbers of “The Open Shelf.”

COBDEN CLUB.—Report of the Annual Meeting, July 14, 1894.

COLUMBIA COLLEGE.—Library lists; “Political Science Quarterly,” as issued; and two pamphlets.

COMMISSIONERS OF THE STATE RESERVATION AT NIAGARA.—Tenth Annual Report of the Commissioners.

CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—Annual Report, May 22, 1894.

CONNECTICUT STATE LIBRARY.—State documents of Connecticut, 1894, Vols. 1 and 2.

CORNELL UNIVERSITY.—"Proceedings and Addresses at the Twenty-fifth Anniversary of Cornell University"; and "Library Bulletin," as issued.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY.—"Dedham Historical Register," as issued.

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HARTFORD THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY.—"Hartford Seminary Record," as issued.

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HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA.—The "Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography," as issued.

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JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.—Publications of the University, as issued.

LELAND STANFORD JUNIOR UNIVERSITY.—University Register, for 1893-94.

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LIBRARY COMPANY OF PHILADELPHIA.—The "Library Bulletin," as issued.

LICKING COUNTY PIONEER HISTORICAL AND ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY.—"A Tribute to Major Edwin E. Nichols."

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MASSACHUSETTS, COMMONWEALTH OF.—Massachusetts public documents of 1893, ten volumes; and Acts and Resolves of Massachusetts, 1894.

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MASSACHUSETTS GRAND LODGE OF ANCIENT FREE AND ACCEPTED MASONS.—Proceedings of the Grand Lodge, as issued.

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MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS.—“Annual Register of Officers and Members, 1894.”

MASSACHUSETTS SOCIETY FOR THE EXTENSION OF UNIVERSITY TEACHING.—Numbers of their “University Extension.”

MASSACHUSETTS STATE BOARD OF HEALTH.—The “Weekly Returns of Mortality,” as issued.

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NEWARK FREE PUBLIC LIBRARY.—Fifth Annual Report.

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THE RIVAL CLAIMANTS FOR NORTH AMERICA.

1497-1755.

BY JUSTIN WINSOR.

IN considering the respective claims of the English and French to North America, it must be remembered that the conflict of rights is not only one on identical lines arising from discovery, but one also on opposed lines arising from different conceptions of the rights of discovery. The claims are also represented by contrary methods and purposes in enforcing them.

The French, in the time of Francis I. and later, claimed the new continent by reason of Verrazzano's voyage along its Atlantic coast. The claim, however, was not made good by permanent occupation anywhere along the seaboard of the present United States.

Moreover, the English, under the Cabots, had sailed along this coast earlier. Still it was not till nearly a century had passed that the English government, urged by the spirit which Hakluyt and Dr. Dee were fostering, awoke to the opportunity and began seriously to base rights upon the Cabot voyages. The French at a later day sought to discredit this English claim, on the ground that the Cabots were private adventurers and could establish no national pretensions. The English pointedly replied that their Henry VII. had given them patents which reserved to the crown dominion over any lands which were discovered. This reply was triumphant so far as it went, but it still left the question aside, whether coast discovery carried rights to the interior, particularly if such inland regions drained to another

sea. The English attempt in the latter part of the sixteenth century, under Raleigh's influence, to occupy Roanoke island and adjacent regions, but without definite extension westward, was in due time followed by successive royal patents and charters, beginning in 1606 and ending in 1665, which appropriated the hospitable parts of the continent stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific. For a north and south extension these grants almost exactly covered the whole length of the Mississippi, since the parallel of 48° , which formed the northern limit, and that of 29° , which made the southern, were respectively a little north of the source of the great river and just seaward of its deltas.

The charter of Acadia, granted by the French King three years before the first of the English grants, covered the coast from the 40° to the 46° , and was thus embraced in the pretensions of the English King, but his rival refrained from giving any westward extension, beyond what was implied in "the lands, shores, and countries of Acadia and other neighboring lands."

It is interesting to determine what, during this period of sixty years, mainly in the first half of the seventeenth century, were the notions, shared by the English King and his advisers, of the extent of this munificent domain, with which he and they were so free.

A few years before the first of these grants was made to the Plymouth Company, in 1606, Hakluyt had laid before the world, in Molineaux's great *Mappe-Monde*, the ripest English ideas of the new world, and these gave a breadth to North America not much different from what it was in reality. The Pacific coast line, however, was not carried above Drake's New Albion, our modern upper California. This left the question still undetermined, if one could not travel on a higher parallel dry-shod to Asia, as Thomas Morton, later a settler on Boston Bay, imagined he could.

Molineaux gives no conception of the physical distribution of mountain and valley in this vast area, further than to bulk the great lakes into a single inland sea. The notion of an immense interior valley, corresponding in some extent to our Mississippi basin, which Mercator forty years before had divined, had not yet impressed the British mind. Mercator, indeed, had misconceived it, in that he joined the Mississippi and St. Lawrence basins together, by obliterating the divide between them. In this way he made his great continental river rise in Arizona and sweep northeast and join the great current speeding to the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Here, then, in the adequate breadth of the continent, as Mercator and Molineaux drew it, is conclusive evidence that the royal giver of these vast areas had, or could have had, something like a proper notion of the extent of his munificent gifts. At the date of the last of these charters, in 1665, Cartier and his successors had for a hundred and thirty years been endeavoring to measure the breadth of the continent by the way of the St. Lawrence and the great lakes. They sought to prove by inland routes whether the estimated longitude of New Albion had been accurate or not. There had, it is true, been some vacillation of belief meanwhile. One thing had been accomplished to clarify the notions respecting these great interior spaces. The belief of Mercator had given way to the expectation of finding a large river, flowing in a southerly direction, whose springs were separated from those of the St. Lawrence by a dividing ridge. It was not yet determined where the outlet of this great river was. Was it on the Atlantic side of Florida, as a long stretch up the coast from the peninsula was at that time called? Was it in the Gulf of Mexico, identifying it with the stream in which De Soto had been buried? Was it in the Gulf of California, making it an extension of the Colorado River? Each of these views had its advocates among the French, who had already learned something of the upper reaches of

both the Ohio and the Mississippi. It was left for Joliet and Marquette, a few years later, not to discover the Mississippi, but to reach the truth of its flow, and for La Salle to confirm it.

These latter explorations of the priest and trader gave the French such rights as came from traversing throughout the water-ways, which led with slight interruption from the water back of Newfoundland, to the Mexican gulf. In due time this immense valley of the Mississippi was entered by the British traders, as they discovered pass after pass through the mountain barrier, all the way from New York to Carolina. The French, indeed, had permanent settlements along the Illinois and on the lower Mississippi, but in other parts of the great valley, there is little doubt that wandering Britons were quite as familiar as the French trader or adventurer to the Indians. If the evidence is not to be disputed, there was among these hardy British adventurers, a certain John Howard, who was, perhaps, the first, on the English part, to travel the whole course of one of the great ramifications of the valley. It was in 1742 that he passed from the upper waters of the James over the mountains to New River, by which he reached the Ohio. Descending this main affluent, he was floating down the Mississippi itself, when he was captured by some French and Indians and conveyed to New Orleans. An air of circumstantiality is given to the expedition in the journal of John Peter Salley, who was one of Howard's companions. Fry, in his report to the Ohio Company at a later day, made something of this exploit as crediting the English with an early acquaintance with the great valley. The most western settlements of the Virginians are marked in Evans's map of 1755, as that of J. Keeney at the junction of Greenbriar and New River, and Stahlmaker's house on the middle fork of the Holston River. These isolated outposts of the English were an exception to their habit of making one settlement support another. As set forth by Mitchell,

the English alleged that the French planted their posts "straggling up and down in remote and uncultivated deserts in order thereby to seem to occupy a greater extent of territory, while in effect they hardly occupy any at all."

The claims then of these rival contestants for the Trans-Alleghany region, as they respectively advanced them at the time, were thus put :

The English pretended to have secured their rights by a westward extension, from the regions of their coast occupation, and down to 1763 they stubbornly maintained this claim, though forced to strengthen it, first, by alleging certain sporadic, and sometimes doubtful and even disproved, wanderings of their people beyond the mountains; and second, by deriving an additional advantage from professed rights ceded to them by the Iroquois.

When the main grants to the Plymouth and London Companies were superseded by less extensive allotments, this same sea-to-sea extension was constantly reinforced as far as iteration could do it. The provincial charter of Massachusetts, for instance, in confirming the earlier bounds, carried her limits west towards the South sea. That of Virginia did the same, but with so clumsy a definition that the claims of Massachusetts and Virginia collided in the Ohio Valley and beyond.

The Congress at Albany, in 1754, re-affirmed this westward extension, but allowed that it had been modified north of the St. Lawrence only by concession to Canada under the treaty of Utrecht in 1713. A similar ground was assumed by Shirley at Paris, in 1755, when he met the French Commissioners in an endeavor to reconcile their respective claims.

The French, on the other hand, derived their rights, in their opinion, from having been the first to traverse the great valley, and because they had made settlements at a few points; and still more because they possessed and had settled about the mouth of the great river. It was their

contention, that such a possession of the mouth of a main stream, gave them jurisdiction over its entire watershed in the interior, just as their possession of the outlet of the St. Lawrence gave to France the control of its entire basin. Upon this principle, Louis XIV. had made his concession to Crozat for monopolizing the trade of the great valley.

These two grounds of national rights, the one arising from the possession of the coast and the other from occupation of a river-mouth, were consequently at variance with each other. They were both in themselves preposterous, in the opinions of adversaries, and both claimants were forced to abate their pretensions. The English eventually conceded to France all west of the Mississippi. France by the arbitrament of war yielded, to one people or another, the water-sheds of both the Mississippi and the St. Lawrence, just as the United States at a later day, making a like claim for the entire valley of the Columbia River through the discovery of its mouth, were forced to be content with but a portion of their demand.

There was another difference in the claims of the two contestants, which particularly affected their respective relations with the original occupants of the Great Valley.

The French asserted possession against the heathen, but cared little for his territory except to preserve it for the fur trade. They were not, consequently, despoilers of the savages' hunting-grounds. One to three square miles was estimated as each Indian's requirement for the chase. On the other hand, they seized such points as they wished, without thought of recompensing the savage owners. This prerogative of free appropriation, the French persistently guarded. When, in 1751, La Jonquière told the tribes on the Ohio, that the French would not occupy their lands without their permission, he was rebuked by his home government and Duquesne, his successor, was enjoined to undo the impression, which La Jonquière had conveyed to the savages.

On the other hand, the English pioneers, by their charters and patents, got a jurisdiction over, but not a fee in, the lands conveyed. In the practice which England established, or professed to establish, occupation could only follow upon the extinguishment by purchase or treaty of the native title.

Thus the Indian had exemplified to him by these intruders two diverse policies. He was inclined to the French policy because it did not disturb his life, and drive him away from his ancestral hunting-grounds. Duquesne was wont to tell the Indians that the French placing a fort on the Indian's lands did not mean the felling of forest and planting of fields, as it did with the English; but that the French fort became only a convenient hunting-lodge for the Indian, with undisturbed game about it.

The Indian was inclined to the English policy because it showed a recognition of his right to the soil, for which he could get cloth and trinkets and rum, if he chose to sell it. But he soon found that the clothes which he obtained wore out, the liquor was gone, and the baubles were worthless. The transaction, forced upon him quite as often as voluntarily assumed, was almost sure to leave him for a heritage a contiguous settlement of farmholders, who felled the forests and drove away his buffalo.

The savage was naturally much perplexed between these rival methods, in determining which was more for his advantage. Accordingly, we find the aboriginal hordes over vast regions divided in allegiance, some preferring the French and others the English, and neither, by any means, constant to one side or the other.

Moreover, these two diverse policies meant a good deal to such disputants in the trial of strength between them. The French knew they were greatly inferior in numbers, but they counted on a better organization, and a single responsible head which induced celerity of movement, and

this went a great way in overcoming their rival's weight of numbers. Joncaire boasted of this to Washington, when this Virginian messenger went to carry the warning of Dinwiddie. Pownall understood it, when he said that Canada did not consist of farms and settlements as the English colonies did, but of forts and soldiers. "The English cannot settle and fight too," he adds. "They can fight as well as the French, but they must give over settling." Thus the two peoples, seeking to make the new world tributary to the old, sought to help their rival claims by gaining over these native arbiters. It was soon seen that success for the one side or the other depended largely on holding the Indians fast in allegiance.

The savage is always impressed by prowess. The French for many years claimed his admiration through their military success, and the English often lost it by lack of such success. In personal dealing with the savage, the French always had the advantage. They were better masters of wiles. They knew better how to mould the savage passions to their own purposes. With it all, they were always tactful, which the English were far from being. William Johnson, the astutest manager of the Indians which the English ever had, knew this thoroughly, and persistently tried to teach his countrymen the virtue of tact. It was not unrecognized among his contemporaries that Johnson's alliance with a sister of Brant, a Mohawk chief, had much to do with his influence among the six nations.

"General Johnson's success," wrote Peter Fontaine, "was owing under God to his fidelity to the Indians and his generous conduct to his Indian wife, by whom he hath several hopeful sons, who are all war-captains, the bulwark with him of the Five Nations, and loyal subjects to their mother-country." This Huguenot, Fontaine, traced much of the misery of frontier life to the failure of the English to emulate the French in intermarrying with the natives, and he, curiously rather than accurately, refers the absence

of the custom to an early incident in Virginia history, "for when our wise politicians heard that Rolfe had married Pocahontas, it was deliberated in council whether he had not committed high treason by marrying an Indian princess; and had not some troubles intervened which put a stop to the inquiry, the poor man might have been hanged up for doing the most just, the most natural, the most generous and politic action that ever was done this side of the water. This put an effectual stop to all intermarriages afterwards."

Both French and English were not slow in discovering that among the American tribes the Iroquois were the chief arbiters of savage destiny in North America. The struggle of each rival was to secure the help of these doughty confederates. In the early years of the European occupation, the Dutch propitiated the Iroquois and the French provoked them. The English succeeded to the policy of the Hollanders, and the French long felt the enmity which Champlain had engendered. The Dutch and English could give more and better merchandise for a beaver skin, and this told in the rivalry, not only for the friendship of the Iroquois, but for that of other and more distant tribes. This was a decided gain to the English and as decided a loss to the French, and no one knew it better than the losing party.

Throughout the long struggle, the English never ceased for any long period to keep substantial hold of the Iroquois. There were defections. Some portions of the Oneidas and Mohawks were gained by the Jesuits who settled their neophytes near Montreal. The Senecas were much inclined to be independent, and the French possession of Niagara and the arts of Joncaire helped their uncertainty. Every tribe of the United Council at Onondaga had times of indecision. But, on the whole, the English were conspicuously helped by the Iroquois allegiance, and they early used it to give new force to their claim for a westward extension.

The country which the Iroquois originally occupied was that portion of the State of New York south of its great lake, and their tribes were scattered through the valley of the Mohawk, along the water-shed of Ontario, and throughout the country holding the springs of the Susquehanna and the Alleghany. The Susquehanna had been from the days of John Smith an inviting entrance to the interior from the Chesapeake, and Champlain's deputy, in 1615, had found that it afforded a route to the sea from the Iroquois country.

It was a dispute between the French and the English, which of the two peoples first penetrated this Iroquois country. La Jonquière, in 1751, claimed the priority for the French. There can be little question, however, that whatever right followed upon priority belonged to the Dutch, and by inheritance to the English. This was always the claim at Albany, and when the French seized upon Niagara, the English pronounced it an encroachment upon the Iroquois country, as, indeed, Charlevoix acknowledged it was. At the same time the French contended that it was a part of the St. Lawrence valley, which was theirs by virtue of Cartier's and later discoveries. On this ground they also claimed the valley of Lake Champlain, and had advanced to Crown Point in occupying it, though the Iroquois considered it within their bounds.

So when the English seized Oswego it was in the French view an usurpation of their rights, "the most flagrant and most pernicious to Canada." This sweeping assertion, transformed to a direct statement, meant that the possession of Oswego gave the English a superior hold on the Indians. It also offered them a chance to intercept the Indians in their trading journeys to Montreal. This advantage was rendered greater by the English ability to give for two skins at Oswego as much as the French offered for ten at Niagara. De Lancey looked upon the English ability to do this as the strongest tie by which they retained the Indians in their alliance. "Oswego," said the French,

“gives us all the evils, without the advantages of war.” Duquesne, in August, 1755, confessed that it was nothing but a lack of pretext, which prevented his attacking this English post.

About the middle of the seventeenth century the Iroquois by conquests had pushed a sort of feudal sway far beyond their ancestral homes. They had destroyed the Hurons in the country west of the Ottawa. They had exterminated the Eries south of the lake of that name, and had pushed their conquests at least as far as the Scioto, and held in vassalage the tribes still farther west. They even at times kept their enemies in terror as far as the Mississippi. Somewhat in the same way they had caused their primacy to be felt along the Susquehanna. Their war parties were known to keep the fruitful region south of the Ohio in almost absolute desolation.

The area included in these conquests is, perhaps, a moderate estimate of what the English meant by the Iroquois claim. As early as 1697, the Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, in formulating the English rights to sovereignty over the Iroquois, asserted something larger in saying that these confederates held “in tributary subjection all the neighboring Indians and went sometimes as far as the South Sea, the northwest passage and Florida, as well as over that part of the country now called Canada.” Mitchell, in 1755, claimed that by the conquest of the Shawnees in 1672 the Iroquois acquired whatever title the original occupiers of the Ohio valley had, and that their conquest of the Illinois carried their rights beyond the Mississippi.

The English turned these Iroquois conquests to their advantage by assuming that the regions covered by this supremacy fell to their jurisdiction as one of the considerations of their alliance with the confederates. This pretension, in its most arrogant form, allowed there was no territory not under Iroquois control east of the Mississippi,

unless it was the region of the south, where, with equal complacency, the English used their friendship with the Cherokees, Chickasaws and Creeks to cover all territory of the modern Gulf States, with a bordering region north of them. In Huske's English map of 1755, even this territory of the southern tribes is made tributary to the Iroquois, as well as all east of the Mississippi and the Illinois and Lake Michigan, and of a line thence to the upper waters of the Ottawa.

In pushing their conquests to the Illinois, the Iroquois claimed, as Pownall tells us, that they warred upon these distant savages because it was necessary to protect the beaver, which the Illinois were exterminating. There was little reason for so benign an excuse, for the ravages of the confederates were simply prompted by an inherent martial spirit. So distinguished a student of their career as Mr. Horatio Hale is inclined to give them a conspicuously beneficent character, which, however, hardly met the approval of a more famous student, the late Francis Parkman.

This Iroquois-English claim had distinguished advocates in Colden, Franklin and Pownall, but there was some abatement at times in its pretensions. Sir William Johnson, in 1763, traced the line of this dependent country along the Blue Ridge, back of Virginia to the head of the Kentucky River, down that current to the Ohio above the falls; thence to the south end of Lake Michigan; along its eastern shore to Mackinac; and northeast to the Ottawa and down that river to the St. Lawrence. The right of the English king to such a territory as this dated back, as the English claimed, to an alleged deed of sale in 1701, when the Iroquois ceded these hunting-grounds to English jurisdiction, in addition to their ancestral lands. It was, as they claimed, a title in addition to that of their sea-to-sea charters. When the French cited the Treaty of Ryswick (1697) as giving them sway over the river basins where they held the mouths, and claimed this as paramount to any rights the Iroquois could bestow, the English fell back on these

territorial charters as the most ancient and valid claim of all.

If the English charter claims were preposterous, this supplemental one **was**, in even some part of contemporary opinion, equally impudent and presumptuous. There was by no means an undivided sentiment among the colonists upon this point; and history has few more signal instances of tergiversation, than when, at a later day, the English government virtually acknowledged the justice of the French claim in urging the passage (1774) of the Quebec Bill. "We went to war," said Townshend, in the debates on this bill, "calling it Virginia, which you now claim as Canada."

We read in Franklin's statement, in 1765, before the Stamp Act Committee, that the Virginia Assembly seriously questioned the right of the king to the territory in dispute. George Croghan, on the contrary, in a communication to Secretary Peters of Pennsylvania, wondered how anybody could doubt that the French on the Alleghany were encroaching upon the charter limits of Pennsylvania.

The French were more unanimous in their view; but it was only gradually that they worked up to a full expression of it. Bellin, the map-maker for Charlevoix, had drawn in his early drafts the limits of New France more modestly than the French government grew to maintain, and he was soon instructed to fashion his maps to their largest claims. In like manner, the earliest English map-makers slowly came to the pitch of audacity which the politicians stood for, and Bollar, in 1748, complained that Popple (1732), Keith (1738), Oldmixon (1741), Moll, and Bowen (1747) had been recusant to English interests. It was not till Mitchell produced his map in 1755 that the ardentest claimant for English rights was satisfied.

The instructions of Duquesne, in 1752, say that "'tis certain that the Iroquois have no rights on the Ohio, and the pretended rights through them of the English is a

chimera." In the negotiations of the Treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, the English had succeeded in getting an admission from the French which required all the resources of French diplomacy to qualify. This was an acknowledgment of the English sovereignty over the Iroquois. The French at a later day, when they felt better able to enforce their views, sniffed at the obligation and called the phrase "a simple enunciation" in words of no binding significance,—a summary way of looking at an obligation which could demolish any contract. When they condescended to explain what they sniffed at, they insisted that the Iroquois themselves never acknowledged such a subjection. Sir William Johnson was frank enough to call the connection of the English and Iroquois one of alliance rather than subjection. The French farther pointed out what was true, that the Iroquois did not always consider it necessary to consult the English when making treaties or declaring war. Again, when forced to other explanations, the French maintained that the subjection of the Iroquois in their persons did not carry sovereignty over their lands. If it did, they said, the Iroquois who occupy lands at Caughnawaga, would be equally subject in land and person, and that would involve the absurdity of yielding to the English jurisdiction territory at the very gates of Montreal.

There was another clause in this treaty of Utrecht which the French were hard put to interpret to their advantage. This was the clause by which the French acknowledged the English right to trade with all Indians. The minutes of instruction given to Duquesne, show how this was interpreted. "The English may pretend that we are bound by the Treaty of Utrecht to permit the Indians to trade with them; but it is sure that nothing can oblige us to allow this trade on our own lands." This, in the light of the French claim to the water-sheds of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, would debar the English from trading at Oswego, and on the Ohio.

The English had, in 1726, by a treaty made on September 14, and which Governor Pownall prints in his *Administration of the Colonies*, secured a fresh recognition by the Iroquois of their guardianship over them. By this compact the Senecas, Cayugas and Onondagas, falling in with the concessions of the Mohawks and Oneidas in 1684, surrendered a tract from Oswego to Cayahoga (Cleveland), with an extent inland of sixty miles.

A score of years and more passed thereafter before the French became fully sensible that they must forcibly contest their claim to the Ohio. By this time their plan had fully ripened of connecting Canada and Louisiana by a chain of posts, and of keeping the English on the seaward side of the Alleghanies. In this, they were convinced, lay a riper future for New France rather than in crossing the Mississippi and disputing sovereignty with the Spaniard. This accomplished, they hoped to offer a barrier against the English effective enough to prevent their wresting from Spain the silver mines beyond the Mississippi.

The French had always claimed priority on the Ohio, and when Céloron was sent in 1749 to take formal possession along its banks, by hanging royal insignia on trees and burying graven plates in the soil, that officer professedly made “a *renewal* of possession of the Ohio and all its affluents,”—a possession originally established “by arms and treaties, particularly those of Ryswick, Utrecht and Aix-la-Chapelle.” There was urgency for such a “renewal,” for Céloron found that the English were already in possession of the country, so far as the friendly sanction of the natives signified it. Thus the Iroquois claim to that extent had proved effective, and Colden has distinctly expounded it in his *History of the Five Nations*. It was also clearly traced in maps by Jefferys in 1753, and by Mitchell and Huske in 1755.

It was, therefore, a necessity for the French to use force if they were to make good their claims by holding the

valley. Accordingly, we find in 1751, La Jonquière instructed "to drive from the Beautiful River (Ohio) any European foreigners, and in a manner of expulsion which should make them lose all taste for trying to return." With the usual French diplomatic reservation, that governor was further enjoined "to observe notwithstanding the cautions practicable in such matters."

There is a *Mémoire* of 1751 which sets forth the French anxiety lest the English, by securing a post on the Ohio, should be able to keep the Indians in alienation from the French. Such English success would mean a danger to French communications with the settlers on the Mississippi, who stood in particular need of Canadian assistance in the war which was waged against them by the Carolina Indians, instigated by the English there. Without such a bar to their progress, as the French possession of the Ohio, the English could easily advance, not only upon the French posts among the Illinois, but they could endanger the portage of the Miami, which was the best route from Canada, and which if lost might involve the abandonment of Detroit.

The conclusion of this complaint is two-fold: Detroit must be strengthened by a farming population about it for its support in order to preserve it as the best place to overawe the continent. The Illinois country must be protected; its buffalo trade fostered; that animal's wool made marketable; and the custom of salting its flesh prevail so that the necessity of depending on Martinico for meat be avoided.

The movement of the French on the Alleghany in 1754 had put an end to temporizing. Albemarle, who was England's ambassador at Paris, was a butterfly and a reprobate, and he was little calculated to mend matters, now easily slipping from bad to worse.

A tough and sturdy young Yankee, then keeping school in Worcester, Mass., John Adams by name, represented the rising impatience of the colonists, who had not forgotten their yeoman service at Louisburg. He looked forward to

the complete expulsion of "the turbulent Gallicks!"

The year 1755 opened with events moving rapidly. In January, France proposed to leave matters as they were and let commissioners settle the dispute in details. England in response fell back on the treaty of Utrecht. In February, France proposed as a substitute that all east of the mountains should belong to England, and all west of the Alleghany River and north of the Ohio should fall to France. This left as neutral territory the slope from the mountains to the Alleghany and the region south of the Ohio. In March, England assented to this, provided the French would destroy their posts on the Alleghany and Ohio. This would make a break in the French cordon connecting Canada with the Mississippi, and would give the English an advantage in the control of the neutral country. So France refused the terms. In June, England again resorted to the conditions of Utrecht, and insisted on the validity of the Iroquois claim. France reiterated her denial of such a claim, as regards the territory, but acknowledged it as regards the persons of the confederates. England insisted, as well she might, that this was not the interpretation put upon similar provisions in other treaties. England now reminded Braddock of this provision in the treaty of 1726, and instructed him to act accordingly. This brought the business to the pitch of war, though both sides hesitated to make a declaration. Galissonnière claimed it to be the testimony of all maps that France was right in her claim, and her possession of what she strove for was now to be settled by sterner evidence.

Danville and the other French map-makers had been brought to representations that kept Galissonnière's statement true. The English cartographers had done equally well for their side, and Mitchell could be cited to advantage. His *Map of the British and French Dominions in North America* was based on documents which the English Board of Trade thought best enforced their claim, and the

publication, when made, in 1755, was dedicated to their secretary. In an accompanying text the English claim was pushed to its utmost, and every old story was revamped which served to bolster pretensions of the English preceding the French in exploring the country, reviving the antiquated boast that New Englanders had even preceded the French in crossing the Mississippi, and had really furnished the guides for La Salle's discoveries.

Perhaps the best knowledge which was attainable at the time, of the valley of the Ohio, had been reached by Christopher Gist, who, in his wandering, had corrected the supposed curves and trends of that river. Lewis Evans, in June, 1750, made his proposals to visit and map the country under disguise as a trader, and in the pay of the province of Pennsylvania. His map of the *British Middle Colonies* was published at Philadelphia just in time to be of use to Braddock. Washington later said of it that, "considering the early period, it was done with amazing exactness." The Governor of Pennsylvania was satisfied that Evans had mapped the Alleghanies correctly, and contended that this new draft showed how much would be lost if the English made these mountains their bounds.

Of the country in dispute Evans's map in one of its legends represents: "Were nothing at stake," it reads, "between the crown of Great Britain and France but the lands in the Ohio, we may reckon it as great a prize as has ever been contended for between two nations, for this country is of that vast extent westward as to exceed in good land all the European dominions of Great Britain, France and Spain, and which are almost destitute of inhabitants. It is impossible to conceive, had His Majesty been made acquainted with its value and great importance, and the huge strides the French have been making for several years past in their encroachments on his dominions, that His Majesty would sacrifice one of the best gems in his crown to their usurpation and boundless ambition."

The opinion of James Maury that whoever was left at the end of the war in the possession of the lakes and the Ohio would control the continent, was not, at this time, an unfamiliar one in the public mind. It was, moreover, not unconnected with the belief that in the time to come, a route west by the Hudson or the Potomac, connecting with these vaster water-ways of the interior, would make some point on the Atlantic coast "the grand emporium of all East Indian commodities." We have lived to see the prophecy verified, but by other agencies.

ANALYSIS OF THE PICTORIAL TEXT INSCRIBED ON TWO PALENQUE TABLETS.

BY PHILIPP J. J. VALENTINI.

NOTE.—The illustration given is a copy taken from three of the best photographs I could obtain. The left hand tablet is reproduced from Mr. Désiré Charnay's cast, the central tableau all from a photograph of the year 1868, in possession of Mr. Fred. Lambert, N. Y., and the right hand tablet from the photograph of the slab preserved in the National Museum, Washington. As these three photographs differ in size and are products of different lenses, I have thought it best to represent the whole sculpture in a harmonious shape, trying to render the traits of the originals as correctly as is possible by a pen and ink drawing.

The letter L in the scheme means the symbols as presented in Landa's *Cosas de Yucatan*; the letter C, the symbols in the *Codex Cortes*; the letter T, those of the *Codex Tro*.

TEMPLE OF THE SACRED TREE.

EACH of the pages of the Maya Codices, as a rule, presents on the right hand of its face a large number of signs, accompanied by colored illustrations. The arrangement of these signs appears to be in horizontal lines, and these lines suggest a hieroglyphic text, which text, however, because none of its elements have yet been deciphered, stands still mute and without interpretation.

The opposite and left hand sides of these pages are covered with signs too. But they differ from their companions, considerably. As regards their arrangement, there is no doubt that they run in a perpendicular column. Moreover, as to their interpretation, there is no Maya

student who would not be thoroughly conversant with the special meaning of each of these signs, with its functions and its names. They represent the twenty symbols for days in the Maya Calendar, and so much do these symbols form part and parcel of all the Codices, that they are observed running, invariably from top to bottom, along the left side of every one of their pages. They may not always follow each other in the same order of succession,—they sometimes arrange themselves in certain changeable groups,—but the physiognomy of these twenty symbols remains unaltered.

It was but natural that, on account of the circumstances described, these symbols should have prominently attracted the attention of the American archæologist; and it was because of the presence and of the perspicuity of these symbols that a way was found to proceed to the conquest of at least one province of the Maya domain—that of the Maya Calendar-reckoning; and it is mainly through the assiduous and pains-taking research of Rev. Cyrus Thomas, not to mention other scholars, that we now have become acquainted with the foundation underlying this Calendar, with the variety of its laws, and also with some of its highly perplexing ambiguities.

This much of light, and not much more, has hitherto been cast into the cloud-capped provinces of ancient Maya civilization.

The purpose of this address is to bring evidence that there is still another light under which these interesting symbols may be viewed.

It seems as though the students, when examining the contents of the Codices, had been impressed only by the one face of the symbols turned to their eyes, which was, so to speak, the *arithmetic* side, a view indeed that has finally led to the pretty exhaustive knowledge which we now possess of the Maya Calendar-system.

The same symbols, however, if closely examined, will

also be seen to have a figurative or *pictorial* side. It is true, this side is not ostensibly expressed upon the face of the written symbols; but it is so if *epigraphy* be consulted. In whatever kind of carving, or of relief-sculpture, on temple or on palace walls, on large stone slabs, on drinking-cups, or on jade-celts, these self-same symbols would appear to strike the eye of the observer. The *numerals* are their conspicuous monitors, and the symbols affixed to them, invite to the certain belief that we stand in the presence of a day's-date.

Here follows, in brief anticipation, the sum of the results I have gathered from the *pictorial* nature of both the written and the graven symbols.

1. The written symbols are plainly nothing else than *tachygraphs*. They show on their face the traces of abbreviated, degenerated images, and thereby suggest the pre-existence of a *prototype*.

2. Their corresponding prototype will be detected in *sculpture*.

3. The sculptured prototype will then be found to represent the image of a *distinct object*.

4. All these objects can be demonstrated of *ritual* nature. As such they are expressly designated by the authority of Bishop Landa.

5. When passing from the scrutiny of these day-symbols interspersed with the remaining characters which form the greater burden of the graven text, these same characters will prove to be nothing else than *the aforesaid day-symbols*, now stripped of their Calendar numerals.

6. *New* objects of ritual nature make their appearance beside contributing to the completion of the text.

7. Conclusion: the method of recording both on paper and on stone, was not alphabetic, syllabic, or intermixed, but *object and picture writing*.

The items, as above enumerated, require closer substantiation.

To accomplish this task, I have selected a Palenque sculpture, composed of a centre tableau and two lateral inscribed tablets, the copy of the whole being in your hands.

The reason why, out of so many other graven texts, I selected these two Palenque texts, in order to serve, so to speak, as primers for object-spelling, is this: the sculpture is comparatively one of the best preserved in existence. The inscribed text is one of the longest we know of, thus offering the richest material. The Palenque sculptor was simpler, clearer, and in his delineation truer to nature than his fellow artists in the other centres of Central American worship. Finally, the archæologic brotherhood is most conversant with this precious specimen of American prehistoric art and the interest is thereby more easily engaged.

The sculpture, as you know, is imbedded in the rear wall of a little fane built on the top of a tumulus thrown up quite near to the stately ruins of the ancient Palenque monastery.

Let us have first a rapid glance at the centre tableau.

This tableau tells its own story to the eye. It represents a sacrificial scene. Two persons, evidently priests, are seen with their heads raised and their eyes directed toward a bird perched on the top of a cross-like framework. The bird can easily be recognized, being the sacred bird *Quetzal* (*trogon resplendens*). His wings are slightly raised, his legs in attitude of walking, his head and neck bent forward. The framework represents the *yak-ché*, the sacred tree of life (L, page 200), and is rooted upon what seems to be a monstrous skull. On the hands and outstretched arms of the elder priest lies the figure of an idol, the god *Chac* (L, p. 220), the protector of the fields and harvests. He lies there in dignified posture, his arms folded, and with wide-opened eyes seeming to take in the words the bird is singing into his ears. The junior assistant holds in his hand a stalk of the maize-plant, its root and its waving leaves conventionally but clearly expressed.

The tapestry of the background is emblazoned with short rows of day-symbols, and intermixed with clasps in which pairs of maize-leaves, as if moved by a breeze, are fastened. Mr. Francis Parry, in one of his last pamphlets, has pointed out, with evident correctness, that the salient emblematic features of this background are the green leaves of the maize, all of them tending to glorify fecundity and the worship of the bountiful god *Chac*.

This much on the central picture. We must now turn to the inspection of the lateral tablets.

Each of these tablets is divided into six vertical columns, and these columns into seventeen transversal rows. Each of the squares (cartouches, *katunes*) thereby obtained, shows on its face a graven object. The initial square occupies the space of four squares. The total of the squares to be scrutinized, presents therefore the sum of 201 squares.

For the purpose of stating the place of each square the vertical columns of Tablet I. are inscribed with the letters A—F, those of Tablet II. with the letters S—X, and the transversals of both with the numbers 1—17.

Which of the features graven on Tablet I. will be of easiest recognition? No doubt those heading the first columns A, B, 3—9. These squares exhibit a series of human profiles. To judge from their diversified physiognomies, we take them to be portraits, and, from their location at the head of the inscription, to be portraits of prominent men. Later examination will prove them to be portraits of certain historic priests, and the fifth of the series the emblematic image of one of them.

In this tablet, we find six other portraits scattered in B 17; C 10; C 11; D 8; D 16; and F 4.

Tablet II. exhibits none of the kind.

What other features will be found of ready recognition? No doubt the many chronologic signs observed at a rapid glance to cover the faces of both tablets. These dates—the mentioned symbols for certain days—make their presence

conspicuous by balls (*thuun*) and erect staffs (*paiché*), either or both of them being always affixed to the left side of a symbol. Together, they form a date, each ball counting 1, each staff 5. They are the numerals to state which of the 20 days of the month is registered. Counting the number of dates present on both tablets, the amount is 79 dates, in all. We make a brief halt here. For, as it is around the axis of these symbols that almost the whole discussion will turn, a few words more must be said of them.

We have known of these symbols ever since Lord Kingsborough's *Codices* were laid before the eyes of the public. Later, through the discovery of Bishop Landa's work on the antiquities of Yucatan, we learned how to employ these symbols for a rational construction of the Calendar, and, moreover, we learned what name each of these symbols bore—and there is much in a name, as will readily be seen. But Landa, unfortunately, did not tell us on this occasion what positive meaning was hidden under that confused scribbling which was seen covering the face of those little symbols, miniatures of only $\frac{1}{8}$ or $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch square. Here and there they would suggest a face, but whether that of man or woman, of a beast or an idol, is not clearly distinguishable, and others are positive nondescripts.

However, in spite of the tachygraphic deterioration under which the scribe has presented them, he has never failed to leave on the face of each symbol as many of the characteristics as will permit us to trace out its corresponding counterpart when seen chiselled by the hand of the sculptor. He represents them on the large surface of stone, and gives them for the most part a measure of $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches square. He cuts them out elaborately in bas relief. Upon comparison, it will be clearly seen that the incomplete, confused strokes made by the scribe stand in the corresponding sculpture in forms that are completed. The interrupted strokes run into well defined outlines; they combine to gratify the eye with the aspect of a certain object which

is known and which we must own was quite correctly copied after nature. Should we not recognize this object at first sight, or feel doubtful as to its identification, we may be brought upon the right track by consulting Landa's chapters, in which objects are noted, discussed, sometimes even profusely described, which were employed in the religious ceremonies and the rites performed in the temples of the Maya people. This fact on the one hand, and on the other hand the presumption that the objects in question might also have been employed in the representation of such sacred symbols as our twenty calendar symbols are, will contribute to their verification and to their final identification, in the highest degree.

For the purpose of exemplifying and to bring this translation of the written symbols into the sculptured ones to full visual perception, I have prepared a scheme (see diagram) on which the corresponding counterparts are paired. They are not there arranged in their common calendaric succession, but in the order in which the sculptured dates make their gradual appearance in our tablets.

THE REGISTERED DATES.

I. The first date comes up in square A 16. It must be read: the first day *Ahau*, because it shows in its numeral but one half; and that the affixed symbol is that of *Ahau* is warranted by comparison with the written tachygraphic symbol, which exhibits the very same features and is known by the name *Ahau*.

The Maya word *Ahau* means: old man, chief, lord. Landa speaks of this *Ahau* as an idol representing the *Lord of the Katun*, or period of twenty years, on which occasion it was carried from temple to temple in procession. For particulars read Landa, page 316.

II. The second date stands in square B 10. The tachygraphic symbol *Oc*, when completed by drawing a profile

round those strokes swung to and fro, would give a short-copy of the sculpture. The characteristics left are still stronger accentuated by the three dark spots. The determinative on top of the head shows by the elongated front-line and the clearly defined ear, that the sculptor intended the head to be recognized as that of a quadruped. What animal it is, whether the *dog* or the fox-like *tacuatzin*, is of no material interest to discuss. The form is seen resting on three feet, and the whole is thereby thought to represent a baked earthen idol.

The symbol shows one single staff for numeral, and therefore reads: the day 5 *Cib*.

III. The third date, beneath in square B 11, exhibits, as an exception, a compound picture—a hand holding a human head, drawn, as always, in profile. We may see the same symbol, but without the hand, repeated in D 11. Its tachygraphic paragon will be that which bears the name *Cib*, translated: *the Scribe*. The series of the 20 days shows only two human heads, of which the other one will presently appear. The numeral, on account of the two balls, is that of 2, and therefore we read this date: 2 *Oc*.

I must not forget the explanation of the two hooks above and below the two balls. These hooks never come to light except in connection with the numerals 1 or 2. As it appears they were intended to fill out the vacant spaces left at this spot by the presence of but one or two balls. The motive itself seems to have been borrowed from hooks by which the earthen idols were grasped. Look at the suggestion given by the hand and handle, as shown in the present symbol.

IV. The fourth date is found in B 16. Sculpture: a human face, elongated, with expression differing from the former. Tachygraph: probably that of *Men*, which in translation means: the *Architect*. The symbol bears the numeral 18, and therefore reads: the date 18 *Men*.

V. The fifth symbol met with stands in column C 2.

Sculpture and tachygraph *Cimi* tally perfectly. Both show the closed eyelids, the dry jawbone, the bare teeth, the hollowed nose of the human skull. *Cimi* translated means: *death*. Hence we read the numeral included: the date 8 *Cimi*.

It must be observed here, that the sculptor whenever he repeats the same symbol, never would repeat the same accurate modelling of it. This shows that he did not work with stencils. He was a free-hand draftsman. His clever hand never failed to express substantially the characteristic features in the repeated objects. I found this figure more varied than any other, and this fact of continuous variation should be duly observed, because some scholars, misled by it, felt induced to take the somewhat altered day symbols for a new set of chronologic signs, for symbols of the months.

VI. The sixth date stands in square C 4. Its corresponding tachygraph can be no other than *Manik*. The reasons why this symbol must be admitted to represent some kind of *vessel* are as follows: 1. It shows three feet. 2. It is rounded. 3. It is hollowed and shows its opening. The tachygrapher, almost invariably, draws this mouth of vessel *Manik* in the shape of an inverted *Tau*, and with three strokes at the bottom of it—signs for the three feet. The sculptures show the mouth more rounded. No doubt, the picture represents that rudimentary earthen vessel found in the household of the whole Indian race, and which was called by the Spaniards: *la lebrija*. It serves to keep the maize soaked in water and ashes during night time and thus get it softened for the morning, and the process of grinding on the *metate*-stone. The little round marks suggest the form of the maize-kernel and the object laid on top the *masa*, ready to shape the tortilla. We read the day: 8 *Manik*.

VII. In square C 5 we find another vessel of domestic use, this time, however, a fruit vessel, and perfectly corresponding to the tachygraph *Chicchan*. Here, as well

as for the others of its kind, the sculptor always presses two of these vessels into the space of one square. See *e. g.* A B 3, where one of them shows a more rounded form. Both are evidently to represent the two brother-vessels: *el guacal* and *la jicara*, the one a large fruit of globular, the other of elongated form, both gathered from the tree *Crescentia cujele*, and so similar in trunk, ramification, foliage and flower, that they can scarcely be distinguished from each other, unless the fruit begins to show its coming form. The people, therefore, call these trees *los gemelos*—the twins, and the sculptor, impressed by similar observation, seems to have brought the same idea to expression, by always coupling these vessels together. The globular *guacal*, of the size of a man's head and more, serves manifold purposes, mainly that of scooping water, while the *jicara* is the people's drinking cup. A mark like y or x will be noticed always on these vessels. This mark means: *carving*. See *e. g.* Cod. Tro, plates 15, 17, 32, in which the wood carver is about to carve an idol from the trunk of a tree. Perhaps the reader will remember the extreme neatness and taste exhibited in decorative carving on the surface of the named vessels, as brought to market throughout the whole of Central America. We read the date: 14 *Chicchan*.

VIII. The eighth date in square C 8, with a simile for the same in C 16, shows its tachygraphic replica in the symbol *Cabac*. Maya words beginning with the syllable *cab* always have reference to *honey*. With this suggestion in mind, it will be easy to recognize the image of a honey-comb graven on the centre of the shield, above which for closer definition the body of a bee is noticed, a super-addition which in the tachygraph is always lacking. The *apiary* pages of the Codex Tro afford samples in abundance for the customary representation of the honey-comb, in a triangular mosaic form. See Cod. Tro, plate IX.; and for that of the bee itself, with its characteristic feature of the round head,

the protruded eyes, the mandibular apparatus, and the insect-body, see plates X. and XI. Diagram 8 D shows a bee fed with honey.

Bee culture was widely spread among the natives of Yucatan. They knew how to tame not less than five different species of this insect swarming in their woods. Honey, in the past centuries, was almost the only staple article of this peninsula.

The symbol bears the numeral 1, we therefore read: the day 1 *Cabac*.

IX. Close beneath C 8, in C 9, a symbol makes its appearance bearing the simple feature of the Roman capital letter T (or *Tau*). What in this T is straight and angular in sculpture, will be seen rounded and curved in the tachygraph. The simple structure of this symbol is not very suggestive of any object available and in existence. Landa gives the name for it, *Igk*, which means breath, or spirit, a word which the linguists have brought to comparison with *Ehecatl*, the name of one of the twenty symbols of the Mexican cycle, and which means wind. As regards *Igk*, this curious sign may be connected and an interpretation found for it by pointing to a monogram of the identical T form which is engraved on the centre jewel of a necklace worn by one of those sumptuously dressed men whose life-size stuccoes adorn the walls of the Palenque monastery. See John L. Stephens, *Travels*, Vol. II., p. 318. A monogram on such a place probably had the meaning of Spirit of Life. Upon further inspection, this T form would then still appear repeated in the Palenque architecture. The eye of the visitor is surprised to see the windows of the convent constructed after this unexpected and uncommon pattern of a *Tau*. See diagram 9 D.

This three-fold appearance of the *Tau*-sign as a symbol for a day, as a monogram and in architecture, and this only in Palenque, as far as I know, no doubt points to certain local associations of thought, for which the clew

remains still to be discovered. We read: the day 13 *Igk*.

X. We pass over date *10 Men* in C 11, and shall do so farther on with all dates previously discussed, to meet in square C 14 with a new day-symbol. Its tachygraph is that of *Ben*, determined by the horizontal bipartition and the two vertical and parallel slits.

The sculptured symbol, owing to its frequent reappearance not only on our tablets but everywhere in sculpture, and moreover owing to its intrinsic significance as a ritual object of the highest order, requires closer inspection.

In written form, and in such as nearest approaching our sculpture, the symbol is placed by Landa, page 264, at the head of his discussion on the month *Pax*, which month was that of planting the corn. See diagram. Upon comparison we notice the same tachygraphic traits, however, in fuller development. The strokes at the bottom develop in Landa to three feet, in printing the symbol in the Codices with the character of an earthen vessel, and especially that of an incense-vessel or a brazier, when taking into account the two wreaths of curling smoke emitted from the upper slot-strokes. The hatch-lined picture on the left side is still an indefinable and accessory object. In Landa's work this picture of the brazier dominates the page of his month-calendar; in our tablet we also see this brazier impressed upon the whole inscription, and its emblematic importance is still more emphasized by the fact that it occupies not one but fully four squares. We notice, too, that the sculptor has taken care to develop its features by hatch-lining the two upper parallel strokes. Hatch-lines always mean hollowing. The curling smoke is as carefully and intelligently chiselled as sculpturing would allow, and between the smoke and the top of the brazier some sacrificial offering is seen interposed. The two lateral objects will be explained in later pages.

Of this large brazier and its special function we may learn more from Landa's text (pp. 148, 280). It stood in the

centre of the temple-room. In each of the corners a priest was seated, with a basin filled with water before him. A penitent enters the door and throws a certain quantity of copal-balls for incense in the slots of the brazier. The latter must have been of considerable size, for somewhere,—I think it is in Tezozomoc's History of Mexico,—it is told that some wretch with hands and feet bound was thrown into a brazier to be roasted alive. I am not aware that specimens of those braziers are preserved as its bulk exposed it to easy destruction. The bipartition in both representations suggests the fact, that the upper part could be taken off so as to fill the lower with embers, and the slots of the cover served for ventilation, for escape of the smoke and for slipping into it the incense balls. The little round on the face of the lower basin seems to indicate the knobs by which the heavy vessel was grasped for removal. The *Cacchiqueles* and *Mames* of Guatemala call such incense-vessels: *polbalpom*, *pol*=vessel, *bal*=rounded, *pom*=incense.

In Quirigua, in Copan or in Palenque, the figure of this sacred vessel will always be noticed to head the inscribed texts of the sculptures on which only the deeds of some illustrious person, when deceased, were commemorated. We read: the day 3 *Ben*.

XI. The next symbol is that which stands in D 5. The tachygraph is an exact copy of it, and bears the name *Chuen*, for which there is no translation found. It shows the rounded form, is posted on three feet, and therefore represents an earthen vessel too. To judge from the carving on its surface, the three thorns, it is the vessel in which the thorns with which the penitents had drawn blood from their bodies were preserved, which thorns, on a later occasion, were solemnly burnt by the priest designated to this ritual function. Each priest, says Landa, page 242, officiated at a sacred vessel of his own. I found only the two vessels *Ben* and *Chuen*, commemorated on our tablets.

On top of *Chuen* the numerals for 9 appear to be resting,

a fact by which interpreters were induced to read this symbol the 9th day of the 2d month. If altogether, it would have to be read the 2d day of the 9th month. For there is no reason apparent why the sculptor should have deviated from the typical rule of giving the day's numeral a vertical position and have exchanged it for that of a horizontal one above the symbol. There are, however, many grave reasons why the notation of months, as well as the appearance of any qualified symbol for a month on these tablets as well as in the Codices, must be denied. The discussion of this case and of others of controversial nature must be left to Part II., of which this article is the introduction. What to think of the top-piece seems to me to be suggested by Landa, on pages 148, 250, where he describes the four priests sitting in the corners of the temple and holding in their hands a tablet on which the incense-balls intended to be cast into the brazier are resting. According to the occasion, we read, one, two, and more of these copal balls of different ingredients, were prescribed. If a dog was sacrificed, we read further on, two tablets were required, and this would explain the presence of two of such "tablillas," as are seen in square E 5, in E 10 and D 13. It may also be observed that the copal-tablets are found placed only on the symbol or brazier *Chuen*, but never three tablets. We read: the day 2 *Chuen*.

XII. A new date comes forth on square E 4, recognizable by the three balls. Its representation is somewhat abnormal, and so much more so as it bears a figure which I recognize to be nothing else than that of a grasshopper, a locust. Locusts indeed were a dreaded plague in those countries, and the natives sallied out in organized squads to kill them and to sacrifice them to the gods, as they did with other vermin on the fields, but I am unable to find a counterpart in the tachygraphs.

XIII. Somewhat effaced, but susceptible of restoration, the new symbol following will be found on square F



1, its tachygraph being that of the day *Eznab*. The crisp cross lines which this symbol everywhere presents, have been interpreted as signifying the chipped obsidian lance or arrow head. I do not venture to find a suitable explanation for this peculiar object. Something like a bale, rolled up and tied, lies above this symbol. We read: the day 15 *Eznab*.

XIV. The next new day-symbol stands in F 11. It must represent the head of an idol made of earthenware, because it is posted on three feet. Which of the many long-nosed idols it is to represent, I do not undertake to discuss, and I abstain from putting it in comparison with any of the still remaining tachygraphs.

XV. We turn for new symbols to Tablet II. It is found in square S 4. Enough remains from its worn surface to recognize in it the image of a bird's head, the traces of which are visible in the round outline of the head, the eye in the centre and the little curved bill. Its better preserved equivalent, see S 2, will confirm this statement. There is only one tachygraph that would show the characteristics of a bird, that of *Eb*. There not being room enough for drawing the bill, the scribe left the characteristics of the bird in the form of a long feather. We read: the day 5 *Eb*.

XVI. The next new symbol stands in S 10. It shows a quartering on its face, each of the quarters filled with a round dot. Its replica is found in the tachygraph *Lamat*. It is again that the name will aid us to recognize what object is represented in *Lamat*. This word is a contraction of the syllables *la-amay* and *tun*. *La* serves in Maya to form the tens (10). *Amay* signifies *squaring* and *tun*, the *stone*. Thus *Lamat* is likely to represent the squared stone, of which *Cogolludo* (see Lib. IV. 5) reports, that it was dressed and set up at the end of a period of twenty years, the four dots, and in our picture the central diamond dot representing the five lustris (each lustris of four years) into which this period was subdivided. Therefore we may

see in this image the genuine picture of the often-mentioned and discussed *Katun*. The picture comes up again in square V 15 and W 5, not as a symbol for the day, but as a chronologic mark-stone. Part II. will contain more on this subject. We read: the day *11 Lamat*.

XVII. We find a new day-symbol in square S 14. The features engraved on it are not easily recognizable. What remains I have tried to reproduce in the scheme of the diagram. As the four remaining tachygraphs, those of *Kan*, *Ymix*, and *Caban* are susceptible of correct identification, only the day-symbol *Akbal* would still be left to be put in parallel with that on the sculpture, but I refrain from any attempt of identification.

XVIII. In square T 8 follows a new date, which we may confidently read: *1 Kan*. The tachygraph is not absolutely identical with the sculpture, but all the main features of *Kan* are intelligibly rendered. No doubt the picture stands for the Indian maize-cake, the *tortilla* of the Spaniards. As such it has been recognized, and very correctly, by all students, perhaps not so much by its being a realistic copy from nature, as by its continuous association with sacrificial offerings.

Apart from other meanings bestowed upon the word *Kan* in Maya language, it has also that of *yellow*, and under given circumstances that of the "yellow, ripened maize." It is only in this condition that the kernel represented in the picture is available for preparing the tortilla. The part stands for the whole. The kernel at its top shows heart and rim with which it is fastened in the cob; the furrows or folds, as signs of the hardening of the kernel, are indicated by the downward-running strokes. We read: *1 Kan*.

XIX. The following new symbol stands in W 14. Tachygraph, as well as sculpture, does not impress the eye with representing any distinct object. Nevertheless, when remembering that the word *cab* means honey and that when

reading in Landa, pages 292 and 296, we find the people had two honey-feasts, the one celebrated in the month *Tzec*, the other in the month *Mol*, there will be no surprise in finding the sculptor engaged in the task of giving another version of the apiary motive. But which object, associated with bee-culture, he has chosen to represent, is hard to learn from the web of the few chisel strokes that appear on the surface of the square. Let the apiarist be called on to give his version. I do not hesitate to read: *1 Caban*.

XX. The twentieth and last symbol is that in square X 5. Its tachygraph, unquestionably, is that of *Imix*. As to the object represented, no doubt can be entertained that it is, like *Kan*, a kernel of maize. It shows the same features above the germinating point, the heart, below the furrow strokes. However, it lacks the horizontal bar-line of *Kan*. The reason for this peculiar mode of pictorial differentiation is not quite clear. But clear it is, if *Kan* was to be the representative of yellow, ripe maize, *Imix*, on the contrary, was to remind us of the early stage of its maturity—when the maize is still in its green husk. The green maize gave the long expected prophecy of an approaching and successful crop, and this advent was celebrated by days of boisterous debaucheries. Nor is the dualism in the representation an exceptional feature with the symbols. We had the same before with *Honey*. *Time* had its two representatives in *Ahau* and *Lamat*. *Science* in *Men* and *Cih*, the *vessels* in *Ben* and *Chuen*.

The name *Imix* is evidently nothing else than a dialectic metathesis of the word *imix*, which is the usual Maya word for maize. We read the symbol: *1 Imix*.

It will not have escaped the attention of the student that the symbol for the day *Hix* is missing among those sculptured on the tablets. *Hix* however will be seen appearing, and without its numerals, in squares T 11, T 13 and T 16, and in perfect pictorial agreement with the tachygraph. The word *hix* means sorcerer, magician, in Maya language.

It is highly probable that we have the *sorcerer's mask* before us in this picture—the two eyeholes through which to observe, the nose wanting, the mouth through which to utter the oracle, the beard-fringes pretty clearly expressed, and the paint over the whole mask indicated by the row of black dots. Thus also the mask *Hix* may be registered among the many objects used in the ritual performances of the Palenque people.

We are now at the end of the pictorial analysis of the twenty symbols, which, on account of frequent repetition, occupy seventy-six squares on both tablets—more than one-third of the whole amount. Let us now see what more pictorial discoveries await us on examination of the one hundred and twenty-five remaining squares.

THE REMAINING SQUARES.

It requires but a superficial glance to inform us of a curious fact, at the very outset. We become aware that a large number of the objects we found concealed under the mask of the symbol, are again making their appearance on these remaining squares. Only a certain change has happened to them. A part of them having cast off the calendaric numerals, these objects now appear, as a rule, always in company with some other object of similar kind, often even with three and more. Compressed as they now are within the small space of one single square, their form has grown either elongated or flattened, sometimes reduced to the smallest size, on top or at the base. But the motive itself remains unaltered. Certainly we also meet with quite new features, but of these later. Let us first make sure of those objects we are already acquainted with, and which contribute to fill the remaining squares. I shall catalogue them in their tabular succession, as follows:

There is, for instance, the incense-vessel *Ben*, which we shall find making its reappearance twenty-eight times: in

squares A B 1 and 2; A B 4; A B 5; B 15?; C 3, half; C 6; C 17; D 6; D 7; D 9; D 15; D 17; E 13, half; F 2; F 7, hand; F 9?; F 14; on tablet II.: T 3?; T 6, twice; T 7, hand; T 15, hand; U 6, half and hand; U 9; U 16, half; W 3, half and hand; W 8?; W 17, hand; X 9, half.

The vessel *Chuen*, the thorn-vessel, in B 6; B 9?; D 1; D 13?; it returns 4 times on Tablet I., but never on Tablet II.

The vessel *Manik* (lebrija) in A 13; B 13; on Tablet II. in U 5, 3 times.

The twin-vessel *Chicchán*, in B 3; C 7; C 15; on Tablet II. in V 3 and U 11, 5 times.

The maize-kernel *Kan* is not present, but *Imix*, the green maize in E 2 and S 1, 2 times.

The bird *Eb*, in C 1; E 3?; E 8; E 12?; E 15?; F 3; F 8?; F 10; F 11; on tablet II. in S 2; S 8; S 16; T 1; U 12; V 6; V 10?; V 16; W 4; W 9; W 10; X 8; X 9; X 17, 23 times. Notice the variations of *Eb*: in S 4 the tiny head of the *quetzal-bird*, in S 8 the speaking parrot, with outstretched tongue; in T 10 the *eagle*, devouring a piece of carrion; in X 8 long-billed sea bird?; bird-heads 23 times.

Such is the long list of squares showing features already recognized as ritual objects. New ones will find identification as follows:

Heads of *tigers* are easily recognized as standing in S 17, X 13 and X 16, 3 times. The tiger played a superstitious rôle with the Maya, making its marked appearance at the baptism of a new born child. (See "nagual" in F. y Guzman, Rec. flor. page 45.)

The head of the *tapir* turns up 18 times, in squares A 11; A 17; D 2; E 7; E 13; E 17; S 5; S 7; S 11; S 13; U 15; V 1; V 4; V 9; W 13; W 16; X 12 and X 17. The characteristic features of the *tapir* will be better recognized when giving the picture a quarter turn. See diagrams F. We notice in this sculpture the tapir's four much dreaded

molar teeth, and the prolonged proboscis turned to the mouth, as if browsing; while in the architectural decorations the trunk is always turned up. Moreover, we notice the tapir's picture associated with a half-shield, a characteristic probably to be interpreted with the three-toed footprint left by the animal with its hind legs on the moist sand of the river banks, in contradistinction to that of the four toes of the front legs. Tradition tells of the tapir-cult as being introduced from Chiapas (Palenque), in the lowlands of the peninsula. Also the "*Zayi*" dance, a ballet, is still performed in Yucatan, in which the tapir-masked head dancer plays a principal part.

Another new feature is that of *the bag* (see diagram Hix), characterized by the *fastening* string and the two loops. It is seen as well above or below or at the left hand. See *e. g.* E 8; F 7; F 9; S 1; S 8; S 17; T 11; T 13; T 15; T 16; U 12; V 5; V 6; V 16 and W 14, fifteen times. It is of still more frequent occurrence in the Codices, where it must be distinguished from the *tunkul*-drum, the inseparable associate of *Cimi*.

Hands, offering some sacrificial object, are conspicuous in A 12; C 3; F 7; S 1; T 7; T 15; U 6; U 16; V 11; W 3 and W 17. *Articles* of woven, plaited and fringed stuffs are seen in B 12 and C 12, not to speak of many others on other squares, and the details of which, for the present, escape recognition. (See diagram: Cloth).

There is, however, one object the ritual offering of which could not fail to be represented on these temple-tablets, and which is the *cacao*, the *Theobroma-Linnæi*. Its best specimen appears on the initial square, where it stands posted upright, cut into halves, on the sides of the large brazier. On a Copan-stele the brazier is flanked by two fishes. These sectional parts of the cacao-pod return frequently on our tablets, and in varied form and posture. In the miniature form of the initials and on top, on squares C 1; D 14; E 6; E 11; F 16; U 4; U 9; V 14; X 2, and X 14; in

larger form and as an annex on the top or side in B 9; B 13; C 3; D 1; D 11; D 13; E 2; E 3; E 8; F 11?; F 17?; but never on Tablet II.

We must imagine the cacao-pod cut open and presenting its row of grains, the edge to stand for a section of the thick peel. See diagram H with the natural cut, the three sculptural renderings, and the two others as they so often make their appearance in the Codices.

To conclude this list of varied ritual articles let me still mention the appearance of the precious jade stone, in its conventional celt-form (diagram J), in C 7 and U 5. Strung up in form of garlands the same jade stone forms also a decorative part of the *yakché*, the Sacred Tree.

To sum up here, what did we find expressed on the face of the two tablets? No symbolic abstract signs, as alphabetic letters are,—only objects tangible, concrete and of definable form were met with. None of them were of profane nature—all of them susceptible of being brought into a certain connection with the dignified and impressive sacrificial scene as represented in the central tableau. These objects were gifts brought by the simple-hearted believer into the temple, idols manufactured by his hands, animals held in superstitious awe, vessels and accessories used by the officiating priests. Their ritual character is warranted by what Bishop Landa says of them in all the chapters written by him on this special subject.

Thus, it is picture, and not alphabetic writing, with which we have to deal in future when looking at these relics of prehistoric American civilization. More or less those very same pictures and their peculiar arrangement are found graven on all the monuments that cover the soil of Central America.

The results as above gained from the examination of the tablets, and which I could impart here only to a very limited extent, can in no wise cause us surprise. The whole race of the American Indians was unacquainted with

phonetic writing. In those parts where the manufacture of paper was unknown, they left their records engraved on rock. Had the Aztecs found the native Maya—whose territory they invaded and on whose advanced civilization they were thriving as mere parasites—in the actual possession of phonetic writing, they would also have adopted and practised it. Moreover, had the Spanish missionaries met with the same, they would not have flung the sacred Maya books into the fire, but would have studied and translated them. Picture-writing was as much a revelation to those learned men, as was phonetic writing to the Indians, whose minds were absolutely unprepared for this abstract task. Constantly their teachers had to recur to the trick of substituting pictorial alphabets.

Nor is it to be forgotten that despite the perfected methods employed by the scholars of modern times in the deciphering of archaic texts, all the attempts made in this direction with Maya hieroglyphs have led to results which could not be accepted. Also, when examined in the light of “cipher despatches,” the experts have pronounced against the Maya texts being of phonetic character.

Finally, it will be of interest and value to learn what Bishop Landá, the best authority I can quote here, has said upon this subject. His words (page 242) are: “*y ponian en la pared la memoria destas cosas con sus caracteres.*” I shall not comment at length on this laconic passage; in free translation it would run, as follows: and all those objects of which I have just spoken, they may be seen engraved on the temple and the palace walls, to be preserved there, *quasi in memoriam*. And they are sculptured there in those peculiar characters in which those people used to write their records.

THE POLITICAL DUEL BETWEEN NICHOLAS, THE
CZAR OF RUSSIA, AND LORD STRATFORD
DE REDCLIFFE, THE GREAT
ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.

BY CYRUS HAMLIN.

THAT strong personal feeling existed between the two was never in question. Count Nesselrode, so long the Czar's Prime Minister, declared it originated in a quarrel between the two at the Congress of Vienna in 1815; that Canning treated Nicholas with hauteur and want of due respect and consideration. But in point of fact they were not even introduced to each other, and after the Congress they never saw each other again. Sir Stratford was then twenty-nine and had been in diplomatic life from the age of twenty-one. His success already foreshadowed his distinguished career. Nicholas was a youth of nineteen, of splendid personal appearance and bearing, of undisguised vanity, the conscious heir to the greatest empire of earth. It was enough to awaken jealousy and dislike that Canning was already authority on all Eastern questions in which Russia had a vital interest. It would seem that each of these eminent men from that time forth regarded the other with prophetic insight as destined to exert a malign influence upon the interests of Europe. Canning commenced his diplomatic education in the British Embassy at Constantinople in 1808, and when, a year later, the Ambassador, Mr. Adair, retired, the duties of the embassy remained in his hands for two years as minister plenipotentiary, his age twenty-two, twenty-three, and the manner in which at that early age he discharged his responsible duties, attracted the attention of the Foreign Office.

In 1824, he was again sent as Ambassador to Turkey and on a special mission to St. Petersburg. The Czar, Alexander, was still living, and he treated the Ambassador with marked reserve, but there was nothing that could be complained of. After Nicholas came to the throne Sir Stratford was appointed Ambassador to St. Petersburg. The Czar refused to receive him as a "*persona non grata*." It was an imperial decision and no reason was assigned. The English government was indignant, as Canning had always treated Russian interests and Russian diplomats with great consideration. Palmerston pronounced it an "outrageous piece of arrogance." No other appointment was made, and the Czar had to withdraw his Ambassador and leave only a *Chargé d' Affaires*, as England had done. For three years Canning held the title and received the pay of Ambassador to St. Petersburg, after which he was sent to Madrid and the two great Empires resumed their diplomatic relations. Canning declined a permanent mission at Madrid and was for a few years member of Parliament, where he kept an eye upon Russia's doings in the East. Ponsonby was English Ambassador at Constantinople. He was of the highest nobility, of vast wealth, of princely magnificence and bearing, but having no other qualification whatever for his high office.

Russia prosecuted her plans with her usual craft and success, hiding her hand except to men of Canning's insight. Mohammed Ali, the Pasha of Egypt, was in open and successful rebellion, the Sultan had lost his fleet by treason, and his army at the battle of Medjid and his own life by disease in his palace. Russia's opportunity seemed to have come suddenly for taking possession, but she was not ready, and the so-called "Great Powers," England, France, and Austria, united to save the old, shattered empire and to bring things into shape again. There was even a transient effort at reform. The young Sultan, Abdul Medjid, called around him a set of young ministers. His father,

Mahmoud, had destroyed the janissaries and introduced certain reforms, and he, for a time, seemed determined to walk in the same line. In 1839, the year of his advent to the throne, he issued the celebrated Charter of Reform, called the Hatti Scheriff of Gulhané. For a time it gave the subject Christians or rayahs great relief and hope. But a reaction came and the old Turkish party, which has always been Russia's right hand in Turkey, practically suppressed the Charter and carried things with a high hand.

England became alarmed at the disintegration of the empire and the progress of Nicholas into all its affairs. In 1841 Ponsonby was recalled and Sir Stratford Canning was sent in his place. He arrived at the beginning of 1842. His reputation in the settlement of the affairs of Greece made his coming a matter of general rejoicing to the Christian subjects. Nicholas recalled his Ambassador, M. De Boutineff, and sent an abler man, Titov, to counteract Canning's influence. The Czar's plans were ripening fast, and the indefatigable and astute Canning, with possibly a British fleet at his back, might well cause Nicholas some alarm.

A personal reminiscence may throw some light upon Sir Stratford's character. Soon after his arrival, the American missionaries, five in number, asked for an interview. The persecution of those known as Evangelicals had become intolerable, and they wished to state the facts and ask for his benevolent interference in their behalf. He appointed the next day, at an early hour, and he received us with the dignity natural to him and with some reserve of manner. His wonderful eye seemed to search into the character of those men who were disturbing the public peace of the immobile Oriental world. The statement of facts had been carefully prepared, and nothing was stated which could not be easily substantiated, and a copy was given him. He listened attentively, and then remarked that the limits of

official duty might sometimes prevent his doing all that he could wish to do; but any case of oppression or wrong he should consider as something claiming his attention. The difference of faith or race or language would not be regarded. If he could do anything to mitigate persecution he would do it because the persecuted were his fellow-men, and not because they were Protestants. This was the character of his whole official life, and it was this great personality that Nicholas could not match, and its mighty influence in the East could not be suppressed.

The Czar evidently hoped that Constantinople would soon be his. The Danube provinces were ready to revolt. Crete was disturbed, the Greeks were meditating trouble about their boundaries, and the Turks, not seeing the hand of Russia in it all, were exasperated to greater severity. Canning boldly, but with great skill, took the part of the Christian subjects of the Sultan. Any case of oppression or wrong he brought to the attention of the proper officer and then carried it up, if need be, to the Grand Vizir, or even the Sultan himself. He called into life again the Hatti Scheriff of Gulhané, and the party of reform among the Turks again took heart. They saw clearly that the very existence of the Empire depended upon satisfying the rayahs. The Christians and Jews soon perceived that their real friend was England, not Russia. Nicholas could not repress his indignation, and he made every possible effort to discredit this diplomatic English plotter, who would, if followed, disturb the peace of Europe. But the indefatigable "plotter" secured some reforms in the Turkish administration which were of permanent value. One was the reform of the village "medjliss" or council. The old Roman government imprinted this form of village government upon Asia Minor. The Turks at the conquest found it a convenient mode of keeping the "rayahs" contented and in order, but gradually it became wholly a Moslem council. Canning

succeeded in getting it so organized that every race and religion of a village should be represented in the council by its head man or chief. This lifted the subject people, whether Christians or Jews, into respectability and into some degree of power. This reform displeased the Czar but pleased the people, and it came to stay.

In 1843, an event occurred which placed the two embassies, English and Russian, in striking contrast. An Armenian, Hovakim, became a Mussulman and then repented and returned to his Christian faith. He was tried and executed with flagrant indignities. Canning endeavored to unite all the embassies in a positive demand for the abrogation of that law. Russia refused, either as foreseeing defeat, or in order to secure it, and thus humiliate Canning. The French Ambassador, as instructed by Guizot, united cordially. The Porte replied it was a divine law, and man could not revoke it. Canning boldly denied that it was in the Koran or that the only passage quoted by the *imam* could bear that construction. He won the cause, to the astonishment of both the Christian and the Moslem world, and the Sultan, the Calif, the successor of Mohammed, gave his imperial word that the "renegade" who is a Christian shall not be executed. It was published through all the Empire in all its languages. The Russian Embassy fell in public estimation, but it was not a defeat to which the Emperor could refer. The public feeling of the world was overpowering in favor of Canning's course and achievement. In 1846, another conflict engaged the Emperor. He determined to efface the Protestant movement in Turkey. He considered it entirely English. He let the Catholicos of Etchmiadzin understand that he looked to him to put forth his ecclesiastical power to save his people. This led to the great anathema, which then deprived the anathematized of all civil rights. Canning went personally to the Sultan to tell him that those men and women were faithful and innocent subjects and were persecuted

for believing what the Queen of Great Britain believed, and what he, the Ambassador, believed. He could not do that and enjoy the friendship of Great Britain. In the end he obtained a firman of organization of Protestant believers into a legalized Church. The Russian newspapers reported that Canning had converted the Sultan and was going to make him join the Episcopal Church of England ; but all effort to counteract his influence was abortive.

A more direct conflict with the Czar was approaching. As the up-shot of the Hungarian revolution of 1848, about two hundred patriots made their escape to Turkey, among whom were Kossuth, Bem, Dembinski, Zemoiskie, etc., the most distinguished leaders of the revolution. They were hospitably received in Turkey. An immediate demand for their rendition was made by Austria and Russia. The Grand Vizir advised the refugees to Islamize and they would be safe. The Sultan would lose his throne should he give up a single "believer" into the hands of the Ghiaours. A few submitted, but at the cry of Kossuth nearly all remained faithful in view of certain death if given up. Canning entered the lists and put forth all his power for their salvation. Both emperors were enraged and an Austrian war vessel brought Prince Michael Ridzivil with an ultimatum from the Czar, but returned with a categorical refusal. The Austrian and Russian embassies were withdrawn and war seemed inevitable ; but the young Sultan declared he would lose his throne rather than give up one who had fled to him for protection. The whole world applauded the Sultan, and as England and France showed signs of supporting him, the two emperors had to yield and resume diplomatic relations. A long persecution of the refugees was continued by them, but the Turks, led by Sir Stratford, baffled all their plans without giving any occasion for war. It was Canning's greatest victory over the Czar. As it was wholly in the cause of humanity,

he became everywhere known as "The Great Elchi" (Ambassador). He continued his persevering efforts for the reform of the Turkish administration, but in 1852, after ten years of heroic effort, he retired for rest, having been promised, as was reported, the foreign office. Russia was glad of his departure from Constantinople and began to develop with more boldness her plans against Turkey. But Nicholas could not endure him as Secretary of Foreign Affairs, and privately the English government was given to understand that peace would not be maintained with Lord Stratford De Redcliffe in that office. He had been raised to the peerage with that title for his past distinguished services.

In the meantime, Lord Cowley, whom the government regarded as next to Canning in ability, gave the ministers very precise information of the Czar's movements, which indicated the design of breaking up the Empire and seizing Constantinople. Cowley was immediately sent to Paris and Lord Stratford returned to Constantinople as the only man capable of meeting and foiling the designs of the Czar. His reception was something extraordinary. The Sultan's day of doom had come, unless a deliverer should appear from without, and Canning was hailed as such. Menschikoff had come down in great splendor and insolence to brow-beat and force the Ottoman government to yield impossible demands or become responsible for the conflict that would follow. He was surprised at the sudden appearance of the "Great Elchi," who at once took command. He had his own government and France and Austria, as well as Turkey and Russia, to manage. He met Menschikoff with a courtesy and moderation that amazed and disconcerted him. Almost every demand was yielded, except the Sultan's sovereignty in his own dominions; and Menschikoff departed a discredited diplomat. In the diplomatic war, in which the courts of England, France, Austria, Turkey, and Russia were hotly engaged, often

contradicting each other, two men knew what they were about, and each was at the helm with a strong and steady hand. The Czar had one object, to take possession of Constantinople; and Canning had one, to prevent him. The Czar was conscious of his own strength, but Canning would marshal Europe against him. The Russian Emperor would not believe this. Nesselrode, who was regarded as more than half an Englishman, educated in England, a member of the Anglican Church, and quite a pious man, had assured him again and again that England would only bluster; she was a great commercial company and would expend her millions only for three to four per cent. interest. His rage was terrible when he found that Canning would bring against him England, France, and Italy to support the Turks.

The Czar's measures exhibited haste and passion rather than military strategy. His navy rushed into Sinope and destroyed the Turkish squadron anchored there, which provoked the allied fleet to enter the Black Sea and drive the Russian navy into Sevastopol, where it was sunk to close the passage. The Russian army, 60,000 strong, to which reinforcements were poured in, crossed the Danube in order to capture and destroy Silistria and its ten thousand *élite* soldiers of the Ottoman army. It was defended by earthworks which the Russians would march right over. They tried it for thirty-nine days and then beat a hasty retreat, finding that Omer Pasha, the Turkish commander-in-chief, was coming into their rear on the other side of the Danube. The European world laughed at Nicholas for fleeing before the Turks. There was no reason whatever for attributing this disaster to Canning. The Russians were out-generaled and beaten by Omer Pasha. No reinforcements were sent to him and it was generally believed that Canning was quite willing Silistria should fall, because with that signal triumph the Czar might be disposed to treat with the allies for peace.

It was at Silistria that Todleben, the great Russian engineer, learned the defensive qualities of earthworks, and his skilful use of them at Sevastopol made them known to the world. Out of defeat came that brilliant defence. The course of the war need not be dwelt upon here. The Czar saw in the winter of 1854-55 that Europe was too much for him, that his scheme would result in disaster and disgrace; his armies and supplies perished in that fateful winter. While moving toward the front, his officers united in depleting the military chest by enormous thefts and falsified accounts. He sank under his labors and chagrin, and died in March, 1855, knowing that his own people had begun to curse him as the author of their calamities. His contest with the great Ambassador had terminated in defeat, but a cup hardly less bitter was pressed to the lips of the conqueror. Louis Napoleon was a traitor to the alliance with England and Turkey and was in secret communication with Russia as to the terms of a settlement. By betraying England and joining Russia he hoped to secure his dynasty.

The peace of Paris, 1856, sacrificed every important point for which England had fought. Just as the British army had come into a condition to prosecute the war and drive the Russians out of the Crimea, the French withdrew. It did not cripple Russia except for a couple of decades. Louis Napoleon had forced himself to the front and old Lord Palmerston had not power to resist him. Canning still had one hope. He elaborated that state paper known as the Hatti Humayun, and the Sultan accepted it and proposed it to the Peace Congress as the constitution of his empire. Canning was but seventy-two; he had the confidence and even the friendship of the Sultan; with his perfect health and iron constitution he might hope, as England's ambassador, to enforce the reform and see the Ottoman Empire sounder and stronger than it had been for two centuries. But the Council of Paris forbade all

interference with the Ottoman government, and left it wholly independent. This made the charter of freedom an abortion.

In England there was a change of ministry. Lord Stratford De Redcliffe was recalled. Sir Henry Bulwer, a man of most infamous character, after Louis Napoleon's own heart, venal and every way corrupt, was sent as ambassador to Turkey in his place. Never was an eminent servant of the crown so humiliated. The world looked to see Lord Stratford De Redcliffe die of chagrin as Nicholas had done. But he was a Christian philosopher. He said, "All seems lost for the present, but I believe the Danube Provinces will ultimately block Russia's pathway to Constantinople." He had done much to rouse the Bulgarians and abolish serfdom, and their history has responded to his call. His policy was defeated; his influence lives. He had twenty-four years of peaceful life and died at the age of ninety-two. He had, like Lincoln, an unfailing trust in God. He had done his duty. Some of his last thoughts were given in a little treatise entitled, "Why am I a Christian?" His papers on "The Eastern Question" were written at various times, the last one when he had passed his ninetieth year, giving no signs of decay. In 1884, four years after his death, his statue was placed in Westminster Abbey. The epitaph is from Tennyson:—

Thou third great Canning stand among our best
And noblest, now thy long day's work has ceased,
Here silent in our Minster of the West,
Who wert the voice of England in the East.

SPECIAL MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

A special meeting of the Council was held in Worcester, on December 26, 1894.

President STEPHEN SALISBURY said:—

“Gentlemen of the Council. On Thursday evening, the 20th inst., at near 6 o'clock, Rev. GEORGE EDWARD ELLIS, D.D., LL.D., died suddenly, at his home 110 Marlborough Street, Boston, of apoplexy. He had enjoyed almost uniform good health in his long life, which began August 8th, 1814, and was unusually subject to his strong will and control. A graduate of Harvard and its Divinity School, after two years of travel in Europe, he became pastor of the Harvard Unitarian Church at Charlestown, at twenty-six years of age, which office he held from 1840 to 1869. From 1857 to 1863, he was Professor of Systematic Theology in the Harvard Divinity School. After 1863, Dr. Ellis devoted his time to literary pursuits, becoming for some years sole and then joint editor of the *Christian Register* and subsequently sole editor of the *Christian Examiner*. He had been for several years Vice-President of the Massachusetts Historical Society, and became its President on the retirement of Hon. ROBERT C. WINTHROP. Dr. Ellis was the fourth person in all its history to receive from Harvard College the two degrees of D.D. and LL.D. His literary work was very extended, for he was not only an author and editor, but also a lecturer both in Cambridge and before the Lowell Institute in Boston. A consultation of the bibliography of the books, pamphlets, sermons and magazine articles coming from his pen will reveal the very great variety and breadth of Dr. Ellis's studies, and the unusual number of subjects treated.

“But it is especially as a member of our Society, Secretary for Domestic Correspondence and a Councillor, that I wish to speak of the learned Dr. Ellis, who at the time of his death was the oldest member by date of service of the one hundred and thirty-nine resident members of the Society, having been elected in May, 1847, nine years after the election of Hon. Robert C. Winthrop, recently deceased, who was, at the time of his death, our oldest member, and whose death has called up such vivid and pleasant memories to our members, of Mr. Winthrop's attendance at our meetings and of his communications to our Proceedings. Dr. Edward E. Hale, our second Vice-President, became a member in October, 1847, the same year with Dr. Ellis, and by a striking coincidence these two gentlemen have been among the most active and devoted of the Society. I find that Dr. Ellis was seldom or never absent from our gatherings, that he rarely failed to be recorded in the Proceedings by some topic discussed more or less at length, and that after he became a member of the Council, in October, 1890, by accepting the duties of Secretary for Domestic Correspondence, he wrote a formal paper entitled “History of the Earth in Libraries and Museums,” which is a work of the highest value and of very considerable labor. Of the other twenty-one titles of communications to our Proceedings, I will not speak, further than to say that the interest of the semi-annual gatherings was always much increased by the coöperation and contributions of Dr. Ellis. The officers of our Society know well how frequent were his suggestions in the line of administration so kindly made, which showed an interest and often an approval that was of untold help in the affairs of the Society. Dr. Ellis was always encouraging in his criticism of our action and expressed the real pleasure he felt in belonging to our number. His influence and constant interest has made a marked impression upon our Society. Your President and other members of the Society attended

his funeral, which took place at the First Church on Marlborough Street, on Sunday, December 23, 1894."

Vice-President HOAR paid the following tribute:

"Dr. Ellis, when he died, stood at the head of the list of our members. He had been a member of the Society longer than any other person living, perhaps—excepting the Hon. Robert C. Winthrop—longer than any other person since the foundation of the Society. He liked to say that he had never missed a meeting for more than forty years. He was an intimate and loving friend of Governor Lincoln, and used always to visit the Governor, and his family since his death, when he came to the annual meeting in October. He was for many years an officer, and lately President of the Massachusetts Historical Society. That Society had the first claim upon him. But nobody who knew his constant and zealous interest in the American Antiquarian Society would ever have discovered that his allegiance was divided. There have been four or five striking figures in our companionship, the absence of any one of whom would have caused a great personal disappointment to every member of the Society at any meeting, and would have made a serious diminution from its pleasure and success. Of the members out of Worcester of whom this is true, Dr. Ellis, Charles Deane, Edward Everett Hale, and Andrew P. Peabody are clearly entitled to this distinction. Either of them could have produced on call, without any previous preparation, from his abundant store of historical and antiquarian learning, matter enough to have made the meeting successful and interesting, and to have made the report of the Proceedings recognized as an important and adequate contribution to our work.

"We have had a good many men in our Society who might be called humorists, at least who had a racy individuality which was all their own, and was without any pattern or resemblance elsewhere. Dr. Ellis was eminently

one of these characters. It is said he had inherited some Tory opinions from his ancestors who lived at the time of the Revolution and before. He liked to express these whenever there was an opportunity, and liked especially to utter them in a manner emphatic to extravagance, to auditors whom he thought they would shock. He lamented the attack by the mob on Hutchinson's house and the destruction of the rich stores of historical matter there, with a grief and indignation which would hardly have been increased if it had happened to himself. He liked to speak kindly of our Tories, and it was very amusing to hear him descant upon the absence of dignity and propriety of behavior in modern public men. Governor Lincoln was his pattern and model in that respect, and he could hardly be made to admit that we had had a Governor in Massachusetts since his time.

“A few years ago, a considerable company of members of this Society, with a few others, visited the historic burial-places in Boston and near by. The Doctor was one of the company, and the excursion gave him great delight. He stood in the Granary Burying-ground near the tomb where Sam. Adams is buried, and looked over toward the grave of John Hancock, near the church wall, and denounced them both with a vigor which the most loyal subject of George III., who left Boston with Sir William Howe's army, could hardly have exceeded. Yet there was always a twinkle of the eye which showed that he did not mean to be taken too seriously, and probably there was no man among his contemporaries who could have done, or on fit occasion would have done, ampler justice to the great history of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts and the history of Constitutional liberty with which it is inextricably blended, from the settlement of Plymouth and Salem till the present day, than George E. Ellis. No man will undertake to write a story of Puritan Boston without making large use of his contributions to it, nor would be

wise to write it, if he were living, without constant reference to him as a counsellor and guide.

“It has been said that his first obligation was to the Historical Society of which he was President. The Proceedings of that Society contain the principal dates and facts of his life, and give an account of his life-work which it is not necessary to repeat here. But his greatest single production, one of the ablest and profoundest papers of his time, is the report which he made in April, 1893, for this Society entitled ‘The History of the Earth in Libraries and Museums.’

“Dr. Ellis’s life was rendered happy to a remarkable degree by a very large circle of intimate friendships with the very best men of his day. His speech was sometimes rough and his criticism sharp. But somehow he had that rare faculty of getting behind the reserve of the most reserved men and overcoming the reluctance of the shyest men, and of getting men to disclose to him the secrets which they withheld from neighbor and kindred, to a most marvellous degree. I rather think Dr. Ellis was the depository of more delicate secrets than any other man in Massachusetts of his time.”

Mr. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN said: —

“Mr. President. We have heard of the death of Rev. Dr. Ellis with a keen sense of loss.

“We shall miss his genial presence, his social qualities and his fine conversational powers. He had always associated intimately with the most distinguished men of Boston and its neighborhood, and his memory was stored with the anecdotes of great men and the homelier facts of local history which do so much to enable us to attain to an intimate knowledge of men and times. He had, also, the faculty of relating those anecdotes and facts in a manner which gave delight to cultivated listeners.

“Our late, lamented associate, Rev. Dr. Andrew P.

Peabody (whose loss we have recently been called upon to mourn, because like Dr. Ellis, he was conspicuous for his social gifts and interesting and instructive conversation), once described to me an incident in the college life of Dr. Ellis. Dr. Peabody was a tutor in mathematics in Harvard College when Ellis entered college. He said that during the earlier portion of the latter's course much of the time of the college faculty was taken up in considering his pranks. Finally he was suspended and sent to a town in Worcester County to study with Mr. Carter. After a time Mr. Peabody, while passing over the bridge between Boston and Cambridge, heard the sounds of a horse and chaise behind him. In those days, in which few vehicles passed between those places, it was customary for a gentleman with a spare seat in his carriage, upon overtaking another gentleman on foot, to invite him to ride with him. The horse stopped when it came up with Mr. Peabody and he heard the voice of young Ellis inviting him to get into the chaise to ride to Cambridge with him. He accepted the invitation, and in the course of the conversation which followed, Ellis said to Mr. Peabody, 'You know that I have been studying in the country by the direction of the college faculty. The term of my suspension has expired and I am on my way back to college. I have made up my mind not to give the faculty any more trouble and I have resolved to study for the Christian ministry.' Soon it became Mr. Peabody's duty to examine Ellis in the calculus, which he had been studying while under suspension. His attainments were not found to be quite up to the required standard, but it was evident that he had been studious, and that his deficiencies were owing to a lack of knowledge on the part of the instructor to whom he had been assigned. Mr. Peabody passed him, and he said to me that he was glad that Ellis did not come up for examination before his fellow-tutor in mathematics, the late distinguished Benjamin Pierce, because he might not have

been so lenient. I understood Dr. Peabody to say that Ellis gave no more trouble; he certainly kept his resolution for he became later a prominent clergyman in the Unitarian denomination.

“My remembrances of Dr. Ellis extend back to the days of my boyhood, when he was settled, as its pastor, over the First Unitarian Church in Charlestown, where Rev. Dr. James Walker, afterwards president of Harvard College, had been minister before him. He used to come to Worcester not infrequently for a pulpit exchange with our late associate, Rev. Dr. Alonzo Hill, who was Recording Secretary of this Society immediately preceding the long official service of Colonel Washburn, and who in the earlier years of his ministry was a colleague of Aaron Bancroft, one of the founders of this Society, and in the latter part of his life, was senior pastor of the Second Parish with Rev. Edward H. Hall, formerly a member of this Council, and still a member of the American Antiquarian Society, as active minister. In those days, many of the leading ministers of the Unitarian denomination appeared from time to time in the pulpit of the Second Parish. But I can say, confidently, that nobody entered the pulpit who gave greater satisfaction than Dr. Ellis. He had a fine presence, excellent voice and a pleasant and impressive manner. His sermon was always forcibly delivered, and an interesting and vigorous production. I need not say to any member of the Antiquarian Society that Dr. Ellis was a ready and easy writer and speaker. It was said, I remember, that he never preached old sermons, it was so easy for him to write new ones.

“The next time that I came into intimate contact with Dr. Ellis was while I was a student in the Divinity School of Harvard College. A few years before I entered that institution, Rev. Dr. Frederic H. Hedge and Dr. Ellis had been appointed professors, respectively, of Ecclesiastical History and of Systematic Theology. I presume

that Dr. Ellis never felt that he was quite in place there, or that he did his best work in that position. Like other eminent men he, of course, had his limitations. I did not again come into anything like close relations with Dr. Ellis until I was chosen a member of this Society. At our meetings, I have been profoundly impressed by his social qualities, by the interest of his conversation, and by the extent of his knowledge of New England history.

“Dr. Ellis has written many books and numerous papers for reviews and magazines, and has been a constant contributor to newspapers and religious weekly papers.

“He seemed to be constantly engaged in literary work. His services were in frequent demand for occasional orations and addresses, and he was a delightful after-dinner speaker. His facility was so great as a writer that he turned off an immense amount of literary work. Admirable and interesting as are his more elaborate productions, it seems to me that he will not be so much remembered for profound and accurate scholarship in theology or ecclesiastical or secular history, as for his delightful, popular power as a speaker before cultivated people, and for remarkable social and conversational gifts.”

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE spoke briefly—

Alluding to his long and pleasant acquaintance with Dr. Ellis, as a member of the American Antiquarian Society, and to the high respect he had for him. In his official capacity as Treasurer, he had been struck with the promptness and punctilious care manifested by Dr. Ellis in paying the annual assessments, often anticipating by several months the regular time of payment. The loss to the Society by the death of our associate was a great one, and he will be held in grateful remembrance by those of us who have been associated with him in its management. Mr. Paine concurred with the other speakers in their appreciation of the character and ability of Dr. Ellis and of his interest in the

Antiquarian Society, as manifested not only by his very constant attendance at its meetings since his election to membership in 1847, but by an active participation in its deliberations. He was especially interested in the annual meetings at Worcester, and often spoke of the great pleasure he derived from being present. Since 1882, a list of members present at the meetings of the Society has been kept, and his name has never failed to appear among those in attendance at Worcester; and in the records of previous years, he is so often alluded to that it is probably safe to say that he had never been absent from a meeting in this city.

CHARLES A. CHASE,
Recording Secretary.

MEETING OF THE COUNCIL.

A SPECIAL meeting of the Council was held in Worcester on March 16, 1895.

President SALISBURY made the following announcement:—

“Gentlemen of the Council. Once and again a second time since the last meeting of the Society, this Board is called to consider the death of one of its members. This time the shaft has fallen upon our honored and distinguished associate and active co-laborer, Judge PELEG EMORY ALDRICH, LL.D., than whom few have been more useful and attentive to the Society and its interests. Judge Aldrich died at his residence on the evening of March 15th, at the age of eighty-two years, after an illness of two weeks, previous to which his energy and the active powers of his well-disciplined mind remained unabated. Since his election in October, 1865, his constant contributions to our Proceedings attest the very great interest he felt in all that concerned the welfare of the Society, and after his election to the Council, in October, 1878, the administration of the affairs of the Society became a subject of his constant thought and attention.

“While this Council is aware that the best service of its members is always at command, it has not failed to strike each and all of them that the labor of Judge Aldrich for the Society was always felt by him to be both a duty and a pleasure. In fact, it was evident to all that our associate enjoyed his connection with our Society as among his most important and interesting duties. His sterling and well-rounded character and great and varied experience rendered

his advice and coöperation of the highest aid in our counsels. The contributions of Judge Aldrich to our Proceedings have been frequent, and his formal reports for the Council have been many and of the highest scholarship. Of these latter may be cited an essay on 'The Criminal Laws of Massachusetts,' fourteen pages in 1875; 'Massachusetts and Maine: their union and separation,' twenty-two pages in 1878; 'John Locke and the influence of his works,' thirty-one pages in 1879; 'Origin of New England Towns,' fourteen pages in 1884, and 'The Christian Religion and the Common Law,' nineteen pages in 1889."

Vice-President HOAR spoke as follows:—

"Judge Aldrich will be honored by many public bodies and in many eulogies which will express adequately the affection and reverence of many friends. I suppose there is no citizen left in Worcester, and scarcely one left in the Commonwealth who had more roots in the soil spreading out in many directions.

"He was a staunch supporter of the Congregational Church, which is now and ever has been the backbone of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. He believed in the formulæ in which its founders in the old days expressed their religious faith. He was ready to do battle for them against all comers, and especially against all scoffers. But, entertaining these beliefs, or at any rate persuading himself that he entertained them, he gave them an interpretation quite reconcilable with the most liberal modern thought. He was a man of tolerant spirit, and grew more tolerant and more liberal as he grew older. I remember hearing him say, once, that if any man had a faith which gave him an assurance of immortal life, he should deem it a crime to attempt to disturb it, though it might differ widely from his own. He was a lover of the civil institutions of the Commonwealth. He had studied their history, and knew the reasons on which they were founded; he

knew their practical working, and he was ready for such changes as the times might demand. He was a staunch supporter of the temperance cause. But he did not go to extremes in this matter, and did not sympathize with those who hope utterly to conquer human appetite by law, and would throw away everything else that is valuable in our civil life, in their attempts to do what is impossible. I suppose Judge Aldrich's opinions as a temperance man were very much like those of the twelve men who gathered in Samuel Dexter's office in Boston, in 1812,—of whom Jeremiah Evarts was one,—and inaugurated the temperance movement in this country. He was deeply interested in local affairs. He was proud of the rapid growth of the city, of the intelligence and enterprise of its inhabitants; and there was nothing of great public importance going on in Worcester in which he did not feel and manifest his interest. He could be depended upon, always, to be found on the righteous side of every question.

“ He showed a great interest, from his first membership, in the work of this Society, and took his full share, as a constant attendant at the meetings and as a contributor to the Proceedings, in promoting our work.

“ He was an admirable Judge. He was sometimes harsh in his utterances from the bench, as many of our best Judges have been. I can hardly think of any great Massachusetts Judge, except Judge Thomas, who was a model of courtesy, of whom it could not be said that he had an uncomfortable temper. If a Judge have an uncomfortable temper, his judicial life will furnish plenty of opportunities to try it and to exhibit it. He devoted great labor to the performance of his duties as a Judge in Equity. He came to the Bar in the days of the common law. Soon after taking up his residence in Worcester, he was made District Attorney, and his partner, our late associate, the Hon. Peter C. Bacon, had charge of the equity business of the firm. When he was appointed to the bench of the Superior

Court, it was a court of common law only. But when jurisdiction in equity was conferred upon that court, he devoted himself to its study; he wrote a book upon the subject, and became confessedly one of the ablest of our equity judges. Within a few years, he told me that he had sat in a very large number of equity cases, and in no single instance had his decision been overruled by the higher court.

“His next most valuable service was as President of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. That will be fitly commemorated elsewhere. He took charge of it in its days of embarrassment, when its resources were wholly inadequate. It has constantly grown under his administration to its present place among the great educational institutions of the country. Of course there were others to whom it was indebted for its foundation and for its numerous endowments; but for its practical and successful administration we must pay to him the due meed of praise.

“Judge Aldrich was a brave, honest, loving and strong man. I think the one thing most noticeable about him was his constant growth. He was remarkable among the able men of the generation in this respect. His industry was unabated to the last. He kept abreast of the best modern thought. He was a stronger, broader, more accomplished, better equipped man at fourscore than at threescore, and seemed never better capable of a large usefulness than when the fatal illness overtook him.”

MR. SAMUEL SWETT GREEN said:—

“Mr. President. I was reminded, while listening to the remarks of Mr. Hoar, of an incident in a recent meeting of this Council. Judge Aldrich, addressing himself to one of our number, asked if he knew that the late James Russell Lowell was a Calvinist. One or two of us expressed surprise that this opinion should be held, knowing as we did that the poet Lowell held advanced views in theology. Our friend insisted that passages in the letters of Lowell,

printed a short time ago under the supervision of Mr. Charles Eliot Norton, showed that his view was correct.

“Very soon after the meeting referred to, I received a note from Judge Aldrich containing the references to passages in Lowell’s letters which he relied on to sustain his view. He told us, I remember, that he did not mean that the poet held the theological views of Calvin. ‘Nobody holds to those now,’ he said; ‘but he held to his philosophical explanation of human phenomena.’

“It is evident to me that the growth which Mr. Hoar has described as showing itself during the later years of Judge Aldrich’s life appeared in his theological views. He was a staunch Congregationalist, but did not look with disfavor upon some of the advanced positions of a portion of the members of Orthodox societies. John Calvin was a great man, and his system was comprehensive enough to take into consideration the evil in the world as well as the good, and extended to a future life methods of divine procedure which it found in use now. Whether Calvin’s philosophy is correct or not it excites our admiration for the man who was ready to face difficulties, and for a system which has been a strong foundation for morality and civil liberty. This incident illustrates, perhaps, the growth of Judge Aldrich; it certainly shows, what we all know to have been facts, that he was ready to take much pains to make investigations and record their results for the instruction of friends, and that it gave him pleasure to find that in these days of advanced opinions a distinguished man held views similar to his own.

“One of the qualities of Judge Aldrich which has left the firmest impression on my memory is his geniality, a quality which does not seem to have been readily apparent to everybody. I have known nobody with whom it gave me greater pleasure to spend an evening or join in conversation. Full of information and modest and ready to listen, he made me feel at home, and gave me the

impression of giving and receiving enjoyment. Akin to his pleasant ways in familiar intercourse was his love of dispensing hospitality. We all remember a pleasant evening spent at his house not long ago when he invited a large party of gentlemen to meet Dr. Mendenhall, the new president of the Worcester Polytechnic Institute. His ease, grace and enjoyment in meeting his friends, and in making known to them a gentleman whom he highly respected, were very apparent on that occasion.

“I remember that a few years ago, while Mr. John Fiske was giving a course of lectures on American history, in Worcester, Judge Aldrich, having attended them and found much enjoyment in doing so, wished to show the lecturer some attention. He asked my brother or me whether it would be agreeable to Mr. Fiske to dine with him and a few friends at the Worcester Club. ‘You know’ he said, with a charming hesitancy, ‘that I do not have wine at dinner; perhaps Mr. Fiske will miss it.’ He was told, of course, that Mr. Fiske would be delighted to dine with him; he invited a pleasant company to meet him, and the dinner was found delightful by all the guests. I remember, particularly, how many anecdotes of Webster and Choate and other distinguished men our host told, which he had heard from their friends or found in books, how full of good spirits and how entertaining and affable he was.

“Our especial interest in Judge Aldrich as fellow-members of the Council of the American Antiquarian Society, was in his desire to make investigations in the history of our country. My position has been such as to give me rare opportunities of observing how strong that desire was. He had a real love of American history. He was not content with the study of the standard histories, but was a great reader of monographs.

“I think that he was a subscriber to the Johns Hopkins Studies, and I know that he gave much attention to especial subjects and details in American history. Just before

his death, in remembrance, perhaps, of his experiences in Virginia in early life, he told me that he was very desirous of reading Conway's 'Barons of the Potomac and Rappahannock,' published by the Grolier Club. It was only a few days ago that I wrote him that I thought I could borrow it for him to read.

"After all, it was Judge Aldrich's public spirit that made us respect him most. His sympathies were broad, but it was particularly pleasant to know that he was at hand and ready to give a cordial support to higher educational movements.

"In Judge Aldrich's death we have all met with a great loss; who will fill his place?"

Mr. NATHANIEL PAINE said:—

"Mr. President. I can add but little to what has already been said in honor of our late associate, and concur most heartily in the eulogiums pronounced upon him by other members of the Council.

"Judge Aldrich was for many years a near neighbor of mine and hence it was my pleasure often to meet him on our way to and from home, and to enjoy and profit by his conversation.

"He was interested in the affairs of the city and in its various educational institutions, and manifested it by doing what he could to have them conducted in a manner to conduce to the welfare of the public generally.

"It was my pleasure to spend an evening at his house a short time before he started on the journey which proved to be too severe for his failing strength to endure. On this occasion he was in a somewhat jovial and conversational mood, but, as usual with him, dignified in his bearing. He called attention with evident pride and satisfaction to his new library-room, then but just completed, and spoke of the comfort and enjoyment he anticipated therein. He also showed, with a book-lover's pride, many volumes which

were of special interest to him, and they were by no means confined to the most erudite works ; volumes of history, biography, and the best works of fiction were well represented. I think Judge Aldrich had, as much as anyone, that genuine love of books which looks upon them as companions and friends, and causes one when alone with them to forget for the time the cares and disappointments of everyday life.

“As a good neighbor and friend, as well as a valued member of the Council, I wish to offer my tribute of honor and respect to his memory.”

Other remarks in eulogy were made by J. EVARTS GREENE, Esq., and the following minute, prepared by the RECORDING SECRETARY, was adopted:—

By the death of our associate, Judge Aldrich, the Society has been deprived of a sage adviser, one of its ablest and most valued members. His long life-time, with a mind unclouded to the end, was passed in intelligent study, and his keen intellect deduced the real lessons taught by the annals of the past and showed him their true relations with the manners and institutions of the present. His liberal conservatism led him to resist any tendency to break loose from such traditions of the elders as had their foundations in the great principles of truth and justice, and at the same time to discard the errors which bigotry or blind dogmatism might labor to perpetuate. He had no patience with hypocrisy, and was possessed with a keen sense in detecting and unmasking dulness wearing the false guise of profundity.

His contributions to the Proceedings of this Society were most valuable, and represented the results of much labor, of deep thought and of sincere conviction. He will ever be remembered as a wise and profound jurist, a true lover of his country and its institutions, a citizen whose influence and example were always in the right direction, a scholar who divined the true lesson inculcated by the result of his researches, and a man who left his impress upon his times and upon his fellow-men.

CHARLES A. CHASE,

Recording Secretary.

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